universität wien

MASTERARBEIT

Titel der Masterarbeit

„Russian Emigration to Vienna
after the 1917 October Revolution (1917 – 1945)“

Verfasserin

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angestrebter akademischer Grad

Master (MA)

Wien, 2012

Studienkennzahl lt. Studienblatt:	A 067 805
Studienrichtung lt. Studienblatt:	Individuelles Masterstudium: Global Studies – a European Perspective
Betreuerin / Betreuer:	ao. Univ.-Prof. Dr. Margarete Maria Grandner

UNIVERSITÄT LEIPZIG

universität wien

MASTERARBEIT / MASTER THESIS

Titel der Masterarbeit /Title of the master thesis

Russian Emigration to Vienna after the 1917 October Revolution (1917 – 1945)

Verfasserin /Author

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Abstract

The master thesis focuses on research on Russian emigration to Vienna after 1917 October Revolution in Russia. After the political regime change in the former Russian Empire thousands of people left their home country and never came back. As the Russian emigration phenomenon is a vast topic, the master thesis focuses on its presence in a particular place in Europe. The majority of publications on Russian emigration to Europe study its causes and development in a fixed row of cities, namely Berlin, Paris, Prague and less frequently London. The fact that Vienna has been unjustly overlooked so far inspired the research of life of Russians in the city from 1917 to 1945. The main goal of the master thesis is to establish the role of Russian diaspora in Vienna in the indicated time period and observe what distinguishing features were common for the life of emigrants in this city in particular. In order to achieve this goal the focus is made on three angles of observation: the role of religion as consolidation factor in the lives of Russian emigrants using the example of the Russian Orthodox Cathedral in Vienna; the case study of Prince Nikolai Trubetzkoy's life in Vienna from 1923 to 1938; and the Second World War as the turning point in the lives of Russian refugees.

Key words: *global migration, post-revolutionary Russian emigration, Vienna.*

Abstract

Das Hauptthema dieser Masterarbeit ist die Erforschung der russischen Emigration nach Wien nach der Revolution von 1917 in Russland. Nach dem politischen Wandel in Russland haben Tausende Menschen ihre Heimat verlassen. Die Mehrheit ist nie nach Hause zurückgekehrt. Da das Thema der russischen Emigration ein sehr großes Thema ist, wurde es beschlossen, die Masterarbeit auf die Emigration nach einem bestimmten Ort in Europa zu konzentrieren. Die Mehrheit der Publikationen über die russische Emigration untersucht deren Ursachen und Entwicklungen in bestimmten Städten, nämlich Berlin, Paris, Prag und seltener London. Die Tatsache, dass Wien bisher in der Literatur wenig beachtet wurde, hat die Forschung zum Leben der Emigranten in Wien von 1917 bis 1945 inspiriert. Die Hauptforschungsfragen betreffen die Rolle der russischen Diaspora in Wien in diesem Zeitraum und die Merkmale, die das Leben der russischen Emigranten in Wien auszeichneten. Um dieses Ziel zu erreichen, werden drei Perspektive gewählt: die Rolle der Religion bei der Konsolidierung der Emigranten anhand des Beispiels der russischen orthodoxen Kirche in Wien; die Fallstudie über das Leben Fürst Nikolaj Trubetzkoys in Wien von 1917 bis 1938; und der Zweiter Weltkrieg als Wendepunkt im Leben der Emigranten.

Schlüsselwörter: *die globale Migration, die postrevolutionäre russische Emigration, Wien.*

Introduction

The present master thesis is dedicated to a research of lives of Russian emigrants in Vienna after the 1917 October Revolution in Russia. After a change of the political regime in the former Russian Empire thousands of people left their home country and never returned. These people formed giant diasporas in Europe and the USA and became parts of the new societies and countries of their residence. However, they were able to preserve their national identity and cultivate their influential cultural heritage that still exists today. Therefore the phenomenon of Russian emigrants abroad in the first half of the 20th century is an interesting subject for observation from a scientific viewpoint.

Post-revolutionary Russian emigration has approached the forefront in migration and cultural studies just recently. For a long time this issue has been left aside. Firstly, in the Soviet Union itself this topic was unpopular and very rare within the scientific circles, as the government's attitude towards Russian emigrants, or refugees from the Soviet regime was quite negative. Secondly, Western migration scholars usually set their priorities on other world regions and make more emphasis on transatlantic migration when conducting their studies. Thirdly, a significant amount of time after the arrival of the first wave of Russian emigrants (starting from 1917 to the early 1920s) should have passed in order to have access to all the data and resources available on the subject that could give a full picture. In terms of these three factors today is the proper moment to study Russian emigration in Europe, as there are resources available and the interest among researchers both in Europe, the USA and in Russia has been increasing.

As the Russian emigration phenomenon is a vast topic, this master thesis focuses on its presence in a particular place in Europe. The majority of publications on Russian emigration to Europe study its causes and development in a fixed group of cities, namely Berlin, Paris, Prague and maybe London. The fact that Vienna so far has been unjustly

overlooked, brought to life an idea of a research of the life of Russians in the city from 1917 to 1945.

This particular time period was chosen with consideration. One can observe the rise of 'Russia Abroad' (*zarubezhnaia Rossiia*, or Russia beyond the borders) mostly for about more than twenty years, from circa 1917 to 1945. Russia Abroad was a spontaneous creation by Russians who reconstituted school, church, press, publishing, and all forms of artistic creativity in the countries that granted them asylum. These institutions served as a framework for their intellectual and cultural life in their new homeland. They managed to establish and maintain effective constructive contacts among the various cities of their dispersal – and this is in spite of political boundaries and distance.[1] While many of creative personalities of Russia Abroad did survive World War II, the institutions and communicative frameworks of the interwar years were not re-created following the end of the war.[2] Therefore the time period from the Revolution till the end of World War II is the most interesting from the viewpoint of Russian emigration research.

The research on Russian emigration to Vienna fits into the Global Studies field within the framework of global migration research. The 20th century is often being referred to as a century of refugees. This is justified by the fact that revolutions, two World Wars and many other military conflicts reshaped the map of the world in many regions and thus made many people leave their homes and move to other countries. Moreover the early 20th century was the time, when the existence of three empires, the Austro-Hungarian, the Ottoman and the Russian, came to an end. The intertwining of these events had an enormous impact on the migration processes in Europe and other parts of the globe. With the purpose of conceptualizing the phenomenon of Russian emigration in Vienna,

[1] Raeff, Marc: Recent Perspectives on the History of the Russian Emigration (1920-1940), in: Kritika Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History (Vol. 6, No.2) 2005, p. 319.
[2] Ibid., p. 319.

this master thesis starts with a brief overview of global migration processes in the first half of the 20th century. Therefore, the first chapter of the thesis seeks to classify the role that Russian emigration to Europe plays within global migration theory. There is an attempt made to establish the Russian emigration to Europe and Vienna on a global scale in order to see its relevance within global migration studies.

The master thesis consists of five chapters overall. The second chapter is devoted to a historical context of Russian emigration to Europe after the Revolution of 1917. The main subjects of observations are: premises and reasons for emigration, its political and historical impulses and a geographical map of people's movements.

After the first two chapters the Russian emigration to Vienna in particular comes to the foreground. The remaining chapters of the thesis portray the results of three case studies of the life of Russian émigrés. Despite the vast scale of the post-revolutionary Russian emigration topic, the emigration to Vienna itself is a many-sided occurrence. Thus after conducting the research and gathering data there was a decision made to focus on three sides of Russian emigrants' lives.

The third chapter of the thesis is built upon the history of the Russian Orthodox Church, namely the St. Nicolas Cathedral in Vienna. The Russian Orthodox Church Abroad was a vital tool for unification of all Russians living in exile in the first part of the 20th century. As many people lost their faith in returning to Russia, especially with the Soviet victory in World War II, religion became a significant part of their lives. Russian refugees were afraid of the prosecution measures the Soviet Union could perform against them. In moments of desperation human beings tend to look for spiritual comfort in their religion. This was also the case for Russian emigrants in Vienna. Moreover, the history of the St. Nicolas Cathedral in Vienna reflects all the turmoil Vienna together with its inhabitants, including the Russian ones, underwent in the 20th century.

The fourth chapter describes the life of Prince Nikolai Trubetzkoy as an emigrant of Russian background in Vienna. Prince Trubetzkoy moved to Vienna in 1923 and started teaching at the University of Vienna there. Prince Trubetzkoy was chosen for discussion within the master thesis, as he was probably the most outstanding representative of the Russian emigrations' community in Vienna. A famous scientist and founder of the philosophical movement, Eurasianism, he spent fifteen years of his life in Vienna, being a witness of significant political change in Austria that influenced lives of Russian emigrants. The observation of his life also sets a historical framework for the discussion as by Trubetzkoy's example, one can explore the life of Russian emigrants from approximately 1923 to 1938. The conclusions about Trubetzkoy's life in Vienna are made upon his correspondence with a friend, linguist Roman Jakobson. In these letters Trubetzkoy shares with his friend some observations about the political situation both in Austria and the Soviet Union, about the difficulties he encountered in Vienna as a Russian émigré and on his life in Austria in general.

The fifth and last chapter of the paper is dedicated to a study of the lives of Russian emigrants in the course of World War II. Taking into account the predicaments that Russian refugees in Vienna had to face due to advancement of the Soviet troops, these people became a vulnerable population group. In the Western countries there was a belief that Stalin sought to impose his system on all contested territories.[3] In April 1945 it became clear that this might be the case in Austria and the Soviet Union would have influence on the political situation in the country: the USSR backed the provisional government of Karl Renner.[4] Russian refugees were on alert because of these political developments. Being unsure about their prospects in Vienna and whether sanctions towards them could follow, they started to look for opportunities to leave. In order to

[3] Piotrowski, Harry: The Soviet Union and the Renner Government of Austria, in: Central European History (Vol. 20, No. 3/4) 1987, p. 246.
[4] Ibid., p. 250.

illustrate this predicament the memoirs of Princess Marie Vassiltchikov, a Russian aristocrat who spent the last years of World War II in Vienna, are used. Princess Vassiltchikov described her everyday life in Vienna in detail and this primary source gives a lot of evidence as to what the situation within the Russian diaspora at the end of World War II was like.

A vital aspect of the legal status of Russian emigrants in Europe and in Vienna is touched upon in the fifth chapter as well. The legal situation was a challenging aspect of the lives of Russian emigrants and with the end of World War II it underwent a number of changes. The phenomenon of Russian emigration provoked establishment of refugee institutions on an international level: the majority of these people had passports of a country that did not exist anymore and were stateless from the perspective of international law. The international community had to address this issue and develop new legislation and regulations. However in the course of WWII there were new developments concerning the legal situation of Russian emigrants and thus it seems to be appropriate to discuss this issue in the chapter dedicated to the influence of World War II on Russian emigrants.

In the conclusion of the paper the outcome of the analysis of Russian emigrants' life in Vienna will be presented. The main research question of the thesis concerning the role of Russians in Vienna and their life in the city will be discussed. In fact after all the research at this stage it is still unclear what the Russian diaspora position in Vienna from 1917 to 1945 was: an influential impact on the city of Vienna or a failed imagined community? This and some other observations will be exposed in the conclusion.

The conclusion is followed by appendix with some photos of 'Russian Vienna' taken by the author of the master thesis in summer of 2012 while exploring the evidence of Russian presence in the Austrian capital from 1917 to 1945.

The bibliography contains references to scientific works, cited on the pages of the thesis. The research is carried out by analyzing available materials on Russian emigration and therefore the main sources are global migration publications, articles on Slavic studies and Russian emigration research, and primary sources like letters exchanged by Prince Trubetzkoy and the diary of Princess Vassiltchikov.

The present study of Russian emigration to Vienna in the first half of the 20th century does not seek to be an all-encompassing paper, but rather portrays an attempt to discover some aspects of life of the émigrés in the city. Without doubt further research on this subject will be necessary in the future. Vienna is a city which through the centuries has been hosting people of different nationalities and as a consequence these people eventually became residents of the Austrian capital. In the 20th century the city became home for people from different countries, as well as representatives of many other nationalities. Vienna was subjected to political changes for the whole 20th century: WWI, the fall of Habsburg monarchy in 1918, world economic crisis in the 1920s and the 1930s, the Anschluss of 1938 and the events of WWII. Political turmoil shaped lives of people and Russians in Vienna were no exception. Therefore the research about the city and its development due to political changes and Russian emigrants in it are two parts of the whole, which complement each other in the best way.

I. Global Migration Processes in the First Half of the 20th Century

The first half of the 20th century is very interesting from the perspective of world migration history. The geographical mobility of people was extremely high during this time. The transatlantic migration volume alone is estimated with movements of about 58 million people.[5] These can be explained by a number of push factors, including military conflicts, political and economic changes, as well as introduction of migration regulatory legislation in a number of states.

The following very brief overview of migration processes with an emphasis on the time frame from 1917 to 1945 is only the tip of the iceberg in the discourse on global migration. It is suggested to start the master thesis on Russian emigration to Vienna after the 1917 October Revolution with such a short summary because of a number of reasons. Firstly, as this master thesis should have a theoretical background and connection with Global Studies, it was decided to build the bridge between the topic and the theory of global migration periodization. Recently the global migration periodization has undergone some reconceptualization. Among the historians who advocate an innovative periodization of migration phases is Adam McKeown. Russian emigration to Vienna seems to illustrate and to serve as proof of McKeown's theory.

Secondly, undoubtedly Russian emigration to Vienna was part of a larger movement of migrants happening in the world on the same time. Therefore it seems to be appropriate to view Russian emigration after the 1917 Revolution as a part of the whole picture. This approach will help to understand qualities and features of Russian emigration by comparing it to some extent with simultaneous migration movements. The initial idea was to have a look at migrations in different parts of the world, including Europe, the Americas, Asia, Africa and the Middle East. However in the end it was

[5] Manning, Patrick: Migration in World History (New York 2005), p. 1.

decided to reject this approach, as such a review within less than a dozen of pages of this chapter of the master thesis would have been too superficial and thus not very insightful. The coverage of global migration processes happening in every single part of the world deserves a separate master thesis. After careful consideration one decided to provide a summary of global migration trends by illustrating it with some examples from global migration processes happening in the world in the first half of the 20th century.

Thirdly, if imagining that the structure of the master thesis as a pyramid, the global migration processes and trends of the first half of the 20th century is at the bottom of this geometrical configuration. The next level, as explained in the introduction, is dedicated to positioning Russian emigration to Vienna within the discourse of Russian emigration to Europe. Following the deductive reasoning at the top of the pyramid is the main topic of this master thesis, namely Russian emigration to Vienna after 1917 and its three subtopics (the experience of Prince Trubetzkoy in Vienna as a case study, emigrants and Russian Orthodox Church in Vienna, lives of Russian emigrants in Vienna during WWII).

The periodization of global migration processes has recently come to the foreground in Global Studies. In an article called 'Global Migration, 1846 - 1940', global historian Adam McKeown states that mass migrations have been an important part of modern world history, but historians have been slow to acknowledge their global extent.[6] He continues by saying that from a global perspective, the usual periodization in which the age of mass migrations ended in 1914 is not appropriate.[7] McKeown believes that world migration reached new peaks in the 1920s, and the immigration restrictions of the 1920s were also part of a much longer trend of regulation, border control and

[6] McKeown, Adam: Global Migration, 1848 – 1940, in Journal of World History (Vol 15, No. 2) 2004, p. 155.
[7] Ibid., p. 156.

nationalism that had grown concurrently with migration since the middle of the nineteenth century.[8]

McKeown does not mention Russian emigration to Europe after 1917 specifically in his article. Nevertheless one can make an attempt to transfer his concept to immigration from Russia and later from the Soviet Union. As McKeown advocates the approach that mass migration era did not decline at the end of WWII, but on the contrary, migration flows intensified, Russian emigration finds its place within this concept. About two million people left their home country after the Revolution of 1917. This number may seem to be small in comparison to transatlantic migration movements from Europe to the USA, for instance, but it is not, if one takes into account that this was the outflow of migrants from only one country and it mostly took place over a short period of time (prior to and from 1917 and to the 1920s).

There are a lot of publications written on world migration history. Even if the authors might slightly differ in the opinions on periodization of global migration phases, they are more united in judging about the 20th century migration prerequisites and push factors, as well as features. Each historian makes emphasis on a particular side or aspect of migration movements. Below one analyses several angles of global migrations processes and trends that are described in the selected literature.

Patrick Manning, Professor of History at Northeastern University in Boston, in his book 'Migration in World History' states that migration reached a peak just after 1910[9] and therefore stands on the common ground with Adam McKeown concerning time framework of the 20th century migration. Manning elaborates on this point by saying that two great wars in the first half of the century and many smaller wars throughout the century caused millions more to flee and seek refugee.[10] Though the causes of Russian

[8] Manning, Patrick: Migration in World History (New York 2005), p. 156.
[9] Ibid., p. 154.
[10] Ibid., p. 157.

emigration to Europe are discussed in detail in the following chapter, now it is important to say that the 1917 Revolution in Russia was not the only factor, however the most decisive one, that made people leave the country. The Russian defeat in WWI certainly made in impact on migrants' decision-making process. Manning goes on by saying that diasporas and refuges flows built migration patterns of the first half of the 20th century.[11] Clearly he connects refugee flows with military conflicts and the situations, when people had to change their place of residence because of wars, for instance. He explains it by classifying WWI as a turning point, where movements as migrants changed to movements as refugees – people fleeing their homes for political and economic reasons. In the years before the war, he continues, most migrants made individual decisions to move for personal advantage; during and after the war, most migrants moved as members of groups identified for expulsion or oppression.[12] The distinguishing line between people moving as migrants on one side and refugees on the other side seems to be penetrating. Russian emigration to Europe fits this statement to a large extent. However still the major turning point of changing from migrants to refugees regarding Russian emigrants was not WWI, but the 1917 Revolution. Looking at history of other countries than Russia the impact from WWI on migration or, if basing the argument on Manning's concept, on refugee outflow was very remarkable in the Balkans. In this sense the most heavily affected country was Serbia that had about half a million people uprooted.[13]

Summarizing the role of WWI in Russian emigration to Europe in the first half of the 20th century, one can conclude that the conflict and its outcome *per se* was not the main factor that determined the immigration from Russia, but still should not be overlooked in discussing the causes of emigration.

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[11] Manning, Patrick: Migration in World History (New York 2005), p. 157.
[12] Ibid., p. 164.
[13] Stola, Dariusz: Forced Migrations in Central European History, in International Migration Review (Vol. 26, No. 2) 1992, p. 328.

Another point made in 'World History of Migration' by Manning, which might be relevant to the discussion on Russian emigration, is the establishment of new diasporas. Manning states that social and cultural structure of diaspora originates in the homeland from which people departed, either recently or long ago and connections with the original culture across the diaspora can be retained through history, literature, etc.[14] Then he dwells on by saying that recent diasporas can easily keep in touch with their homelands through direct communication including travel and the mails.[15] Manning illustrates this statement with Chinese diaspora in the USA, which interaction with the Chinese homeland reached its peaks in the 1920s.[16] The first observation that could be made with regards to Russian emigration to Europe and its diaspora is to question whether or not Russian diaspora in Europe was a new phenomenon as a result of 1917 Revolution and the following immigration from Russia. Russians were present in Western Europe long before the 1917 Revolution. However Russia Abroad (for detailed elaboration on the term see Introduction) or Russian diaspora establishment definitely was a new post-revolutionary phenomenon. The scale and activities of Russia Abroad did not have a historical parallel in the 18th century or before. It remains a unique occurrence closely connected with the 1917 Revolution. As for connections of Russia Abroad and the homeland, the ties were reduced to zero. In contrast to Chinese migrants in the USA in the 1920s Russians in Europe on the same time period did not have chance to maintain direct connection, through travelling or correspondence, to their homeland. Firstly, the country they left did not exist anymore. Secondly, there was no desire to maintain any connection neither by the successor state, the USSR, nor by Russian emigrants themselves.

[14] Manning, Patrick: Migration in World History (New York 2005), p. 160.
[15] Ibid., p. 160.
[16] Ibid., p. 160.

As migration flows after WWI did not stop, but increased, the international community faced a situation when a legislative response was necessary to deal with refugees and people without citizenship, as well as to control migration. The question of Russian refugees and their legal status is discussed within the concluding fifth chapter, as it seems to be more appropriate to discuss it in relation to WWII and the predicament of emigrants caused by that historical events. However it is impossible not to mention the issue of immigration regulations in this general overview of global migration trends of the first half of 20th century.

Immigration laws had started to shape migration flows even before WWI and in some parts of the world were not connected to it at all. Here one of the examples could be the Chinese exclusion laws which were in effect in the United States from 1882 to 1943.[17] "Prior to the 1870s, American immigration laws had aimed at recruiting rather than restricting foreign immigration. The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 marks the first time in American history that the United States barred an immigrant group based on race and class. It excluded Chinese laborers and allowed only a few select groups of Chinese merchants, students, teachers and diplomats to apply for admission to the country. The act also represents the first time that illegal immigration was defined as a criminal offence in U.S. law."[18] Therefore the number of Chinese immigrants coming to the USA reduced and those who were living in the country experienced difficulties.

In the studied literature on Russian emigration to Europe one did not encounter a special elaboration on European internal immigration regulations and effects of these measures on Russian emigrants in Vienna. However, interestingly, when digesting materials for the case study of Prince Trubetzkoy and studying memoirs of Princess Vassiltchikov this issue came across a couple of times (for references see Chapter IV and

[17] Lee, Erika: Enforcing the Borders: Chinese Exclusion along the U.S. Borders with Canada and Mexico, 1822-1924, in The Journal of American History (Vol. 89, No.1) 2002, p. 58.
[18] Ibid., p. 59.

Chapter V). Russians needed work permits in order to be employed in Europe and until the introduction of the Nansen passport for stateless person in 1922 (more on that see in Chapter II and Chapter V) their lives were complicated by an uncertain situation without citizenship.

Another connection to be made between Russian emigration after the 1917 Revolution and global migrations processes happening in the world simultaneously concerns the economic crisis. Theories of migration suggest that geographical mobility is significantly affected by labor market conditions.[19] It is implied that unemployment will stimulate migration, as economically displaced persons travel to other regions, trying to find work.[20] The Great Depression that started in the USA in 1929 symbolized one the most devastating economic downturns of the 20th century. This decline of economic activities could not but influenced movements of people within the U.S. and in Europe, where the Great Depression started in the 1930s.

Russian emigrants in Europe in the 1930s were influenced by this economic crisis as any other group of people living in Europe, perhaps even a bit more because of their emigrant status. It had always been difficult for Russian emigrants to get employment after their resettlement in Western Europe after 1917. By the 1930s it had become even more difficult. Therefore the Russian emigrant diaspora was subjected to migrations caused by changes in world economy. Nevertheless it seems appropriate to state here that Russian emigration could not be classified as labor migration, when people move massively to find better job opportunities. Perhaps it was the case for some individuals and representatives of the Russian diaspora in the 1930s, but this was not an overwhelming trend.

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[19] Boyd, L. Robert: A "Migration of Despair": Unemployment, the Search for Work, and Migration to Farms During the Great Depression, in Social Science Quarterly (Vol. 83, No. 2) 2002, p. 554.
[20] Ibid., p. 555.

Concluding the overview of trends in global migration processes in the first part of the 20th century it is relevant to ask whether Russian emigration to Europe was a forced migration. The question might seem to be easy to answer, but in fact some elaboration is necessary. Migration involves degrees of choice and coercion, and is conventionally portrayed as voluntary or involuntary movement.[21] In 'Migration in World History' Patrick Manning states that the world of the early 20th century had many social divisions and cultural conflicts, including class conflicts between workers and employers, and between peasants and landowners.[22] Therefore social divisions as revolutions and class conflicts accounted for movements of people in the first decades of the 20th century and these movements could hardly be categorized as voluntary ones. This was certainly the case for Russian emigration after the 1917 Revolution. People left the country because they were forced to do so due to the political change in the country. The next chapter gives more explanation in the view of possible direct repressions on the supporters of the former imperial regime, but it is already clear at this stage that Russian emigration was an indirect forced migration. People were not forced to leave their country by direct actions of the authorities, like when in 1915 Turkish officials started removing Armenians from their homes and shipping them to southern areas of the empire,[23] but had no other choice than to immigrate out of the country.

To draw the line under the first chapter of the master thesis one can make the following conclusion on Russian emigration to Europe after the 1917 October Revolution in the context of simultaneous global migration movements in the first half of the 20th century. Russian emigration supports a theory advocated within Global Studies that migration era did not stop after WWI end. Immigration from Russia led to the creation of a new diaspora phenomenon that did not have precedents in history.

[21] Van Hear, Nicholas: The Mass Exodus, Dispersal and Regrouping of Migrant Communities (London 1988), p. 41.
[22] Manning, Patrick: Migration in World History (New York 2005), p. 164.
[23] Ibid., p. 165.

However this diaspora did not have any relation to the country of origin and constituted an independent unit. Russian emigration was not directly determined by European immigration legislations, but was influenced by it to some extent. Undetermined legal status of former citizens of Imperial Russia was complicating lives of Russian emigrants in Europe. Economic crisis shaped Russian emigrants' existence, but did not lead to massive labor migration of the emigrants. Last but not least, classifying Russian emigration to Europe after the 1917 Revolution as a forced migration is justified, however in this case the word combination 'indirect forced migration' seems to be more appropriate.

II. Historical Context of Russian Emigration to Europe after the 1917 October Revolution

After the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution in Russia more than one million people (the figures vary from one to two million) left the country and most of them never returned to their motherland. Whilst the presence of Russians in Europe was evident before this change of the political regime in the Russian Empire, the most significant inflow of migrants to Europe started after the Revolution.

The Revolution was not the sole event inducing the emigration flow from the country. Rather, it was a critical point in a row of other events and factors that forced many Russians to make the decision to leave. It was not, however, a prerequisite for emigration. Miserable defeat in World War I (triggered mass movements of population eastwards during the war[24]) and famine from 1917 to 1919 (as it was mentioned in the previous chapter) also belong to the influential factors.

Whilst the scale of Russian emigration to Europe is not overwhelming in figures when compared to movements of people in other parts of the world during different time

[24] Schaufuss, Tatiana: The White Russian Refugees, in Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science (Vol. 203) 1939, p. 45.

periods, the impact that these Russian émigrés following the 1917 Revolution had on the cities and countries of their settlement was remarkable. The Russian emigration made a giant cultural impact on Europe and nowadays one can find visible evidence of presence of these people, when for example wandering along the streets of Paris and passing through Diaghilev Square (Place Diaghilev), visiting the Tegel cemetery in Berlin, where one can notice tomb stone plates with Russian names[25], or wandering along the Rasumofskygasse in the third district of Vienna.

The emigration process out of revolutionary Russia started as a preventive measure. People who were closely affiliated with the dying imperial regime were the first to leave the country. Among the first wave of emigrants were militarists of the imperial army, entrepreneurs deprived of their businesses, and officials and prominent politicians of the former Empire. The emigration started as a decision of several families to leave the country, but with every failure of the White Army, the number of people willing to leave grew. The later emigrants were justly afraid of repressions and as a consequence for their lives and the lives of their family members.[26]

The February Revolution of 1917 and the following turmoil made life in Petrograd (name of St. Petersburg at the time) alarming. Those able to foresee the change for the worse made a decision to move to Moscow or Crimea for some time, as the situation was better there. Those who were even more cautious left for Finland, where many wealthy Russians owned their summerhouses. Meanwhile, mob punishments, crime, famine, and lack for firewood made life in Petrograd and later in Moscow too dangerous and forced these people to leave Russia. The October Revolution subsequently made it impossible to come back. Nevertheless, most people were optimistic, that the Bolshevik regime

[25] Schaufuss, Tatiana: The White Russian Refugees, in Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science (Vol. 203) 1939, p. 9.
[26] Schlögel, Karl.: Einführung in Schlögel, Karl. Der große Exodus. Die Russische Emigration und ihre Zentren 1917 bis 1941 [The vast Exodus. Russian Emigration and its centers from 1917 to 1941]. (Munich 1994), p.12.

would fall soon and in a quite improvident way, many individuals placed their savings and family jewels to banks in the capital, believing that they would be able to withdraw their money in the future. Others hid their precious belongings in corsets, inside stuffed animals, in flowerpots, and in candle wax. Many took only hand luggage with them as they left, because they were sure that they would come back soon. Some who left the country, however, left with their belongings, a lot of suitcases and wardrobe trunks with them.[27] It is possible that this did not reflect that they were not hoping to come back some day, but rather was their style of living.

In most cases emigrants went to the South: Kiev, Odessa and Yalta. After spending some days in Kiev they typically left for Odessa, from where the evacuation to Constantinople usually started. By November 1920 about 120 Russian ships had arrived at Constantinople.[28] Not everyone had a permit, allowing them to leave the ship there, and consequently they were sent to Burgas, Cairo, Valletta or Marseilles. The majority of the White Army under the command of General Pyotr Wrangel together with the injured soldiers were sent to the Turkish island of Gallipoli. The 'white' military forces relocated from Crimea and stayed on the island from 1920 to 1923.

Those who were able to stay at Constantinople, despite their tragedy managed to set up their life in the city. Within a short period of time Constantinople became full of Russian restaurants, bakeries and pharmacies. There were offices of Russian doctors and lawyers.

Russian emigration to Europe after the October Revolution was, in the first instance, a class migration. Although there were also thousands of soldiers of the Russian Imperial Army who left the country, most of the emigrants had an aristocratic background.[29] They

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[27] Vasiliev, Alexander: Krasota v izgnanii [Beauty in disguise] (Moscow 2009), p. 67.
[28]Ibid., p. 83.
[29] Schlögel, Karl: Einführung in Schlögel, Karl. Der große Exodus. Die Russische Emigration und ihre Zentren 1917 bis 1941 [The vast Exodus. Russian Emigration and its centers from 1917 to 1941]. (Munich 1994), p.12.

had to take on new social roles in the society no matter which city they now resided. As all the sources of income in Russia vanished with the Revolution, Russian aristocrats had to start working, trying to find employment where their ability to speak foreign languages and other knowledge could be applied. Duchesses worked as tailors due to their excellent sewing skills. Soldiers worked as taxi drivers and doormen, cavaliers were employed in the automobile factories and society ladies served as secretaries.

Most Russian emigration researchers agree that the centers of migrants' dislocation were Warsaw, Prague, Berlin, Rom and Paris.[30] Berlin and Paris, however, were the cities, which were most widely discussed and distinguished in this context. After studying sources and publications on Russian emigration after the Revolution one has an impression that outside Europe and the USA, the Russian presence was most noticeable in Harbin, in Northeast China.

According to some statistics about 200.000 Russian emigrants lived in Berlin in the 1920s.[31] The existence of Russian Berlin lasted longer than in Constantinople. Up until the 1930s there were dozens of Russian publishing houses of good repute, newspapers, and journals of many kinds, restaurants, shops and tailor studios in the German capital.[32] The whole district of Charlottenburg became a Russian colony. Despite high inflation, Russians felt very comfortable in Berlin in comparison to other European capitals.

Russian emigration to Europe brought with it a new cultural influence and heritage to almost everywhere these people went. Berlin, in this sense, was no exception. Here, perhaps more than in any other city, people of Russian origins had a lot of opportunities in terms of cultural expression. Russian actors were very popular and made it to silent cinema and Russian artists in their turn took a remarkable place within the art scene.

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[30] Schlögel, Karl: Einführung in Schlögel, Karl. Der große Exodus. Die Russische Emigration und ihre Zentren 1917 bis 1941 [The vast Exodus. Russian Emigration and its centers from 1917 to 1941]. (Munich 1994), p.14.
[31] Vasiliev, Alexander,. Krasota v izgnanii [Beauty in disguise]. (Moscow 2009), p. 117.
[32] Ibid., p. 118.

Russian Berlin came to decline when Adolf Hitler came to power (in 1933 to be precise). A lot of wealthy Russians who lived in Berlin at the time had Jewish origins. When ethnic cleansings began in the 1930s many Russian Jews decided to leave the German capital for France, the United Kingdom, and the USA.[33]

Today, it is difficult to find visual evidence of the Russians living in Berlin in the 1920s and 1930s as the city was heavily destroyed during the Second World War and many historical buildings no longer exist. In comparison, Paris remains a real jewel for the Russian emigration researcher, as most buildings which hosted Russian enterprises in France still exist. There are still a lot of people with Russian emigrational background living in the French capital.

By 1921, France had received more than 150.000 Russian emigrants.[34] After the noisy Constantinople, Paris seemed to be the center of the world to many Russian families. However, life in this sparkling city was not easy for these people. Like in any other city of their settlement, emigrants had to start their life all over again, find their place in the French society and eventually integrate to some extent. Russians with aristocratic background were often fluent in French, as it was common for the elite to educate their children in this language, something that facilitated their existence very much.

At first, representatives of aristocracy made their living by selling their belongings. When this came to an end, they started looking for jobs. One of the distinguishing features of Russian Paris was an enormous number of fashion houses, which were created mostly by Russian women. Young girls had been taught how to sew since their childhood and this skill became very useful during the emigration years. In the 1930s, Paris was carried away by fashion styles with Russian motives.

[33] Vasiliev, Alexander., Krasota v izgnanii [Beauty in disguise] (Moscow 2009), p. 150.
[34] Ibid., p. 277.

As in Berlin, Russians brought their culture and classical art to Paris as well. The Diaghilev Ballet seasons had first become famous in Paris before the Revolution in 1908, but soon transferred into a trademark of Russian culture and were on stage until 1929. The Diaghilev seasons set a demand for dancers of Russian origin as these dancers were very professional and well trained. The Russian Ballet School had been famous long before, but the Diaghilev seasons reestablished the Russian dancers' fame in Europe.

The life of Russian emigrants abroad is a phenomenon that is a unique example of preservation of its own cultural heritage, while trying to live in a new society and managing difficult process of integration. The main goal of the Russian emigration community was to preserve the positive image of old imperial Russia and to prove to the rest of the world that there was an alternative to the novel Soviet state. Émigrés had to develop new cultural practices as they adapted to their new life. They needed to define institutions and a sense of community to survive in an environment where they, as outsiders, faced the constant threat of poverty, assimilation difficulties, and neglect by the local people. Russians outside Russia developed their own narratives of Russian history, memories that countered the centrality of the Soviet experience and denied the legitimacy of the Bolshevik government.[35]

World War I was an "epochal" event for Russian military émigrés, an experience reflected in memoirs, social clubs, interest groups, journals, public lectures and war monuments.[36] The construction of a positive memory of World War I for instance became part of the self-understanding and institutional cohesion of Russian émigrés.

As in many parts of Europe, the Russian memory of the war served as a means for mobilization, but that memory was divided between Soviet and émigré cultures, where it

[35] Cohen, Aaron J.: Oh, That! Myth, Memory, and World War I in the Russian Emigration and the Soviet Union, in Slavic Review (Vol. 62, No.1) 2003, p. 73.
[36]Ibid., p. 69.

had different meanings, sites, and symbolic expressions.[37] To remember the war meant for Russian emigrants to remember that a worthy Russia existed, but it also meant to forget the lost war, traumatic revolution and the difficulty of life in emigration.[38]

Military culture was one place where émigrés sought to preserve Russian traditions and to deal with the problems of living in a nation without state. The military emigration was a major constituency in Russia Abroad, populated with former officers and soldiers from the imperial Russian army, remnants of White armies, ex-prisoners-of-war, military personnel in newly independent states (that had once been Russian territory) and military cadets. Such organizations as the Russian All-Military Union and the Union of Russian Military Invalids Abroad had up to 60.000 members.[39]

One of the most difficult problems faced by Russian emigrants in Europe was their legal status. The Soviet Union, since its inception in 1917, has been the world's largest source of refugees and displaced persons. Thus, Russian refugees were the cause and the first subjects of international legal attempts to solve this problem. The definition of 'Russian refugee' was first adopted by the League of Nations in May 1926 as "any person of Russian origin who does not enjoy or no longer enjoys the protection of the Government of the USSR and who has not acquired another nationality".[40]

As the refugee problem intensified enormously in the 1920s, the affected countries were not in the position to handle the situation independently anymore and addressed the League of Nations with a request to deal with the refugee problem. League intervention was also requested by various international organizations on behalf of the émigrés. [41]

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[37]Cohen, Aaron J.: Oh, That! Myth, Memory, and World War I in the Russian Emigration and the Soviet Union, in Slavic Review (Vol. 62, No.1) 2003, p. 83.
[38]Ibid., p. 83.
[39]Ibid., p. 73.
[40] Ginsburgs, George: The Soviet Union and the Problem of Refugees and Displaced Persons 1917-1956, in The American Journal of International Law (Vol. 51, No. 2) 1957, p. 325.
[41]Ibid., p. 326.

Until 1921 the Russian refugees in exile were stateless only by *de facto*. They repudiated the new regime and were in fact repudiated by their country of origin which turned its back on them and granted them neither admittance nor protection. Their circumstances were conditioned and pervaded by the consequence of this repudiation which was political, not legal, for *de jure* they remained Russian citizens.[42]

First, the Soviet government gave the refugees an opportunity to obtain Soviet citizenship upon registration and acquiring provisional identification proof. Later the Soviet Union issued a legislative act of denationalization of its former citizens for those who had not applied for the Soviet citizenship abroad.

The foreign policy of the Soviet Union aimed at demolishing the Russian émigré movement started in the 1920s. In the states of Western and Central Europe which did not recognize the Soviet Government, the Russian émigrés were regarded as foreigners. They were considered subjects of Russia under diplomatic protection of recognized representatives of the Russian Provisional Government lead by Alexander Kerensky and not as stateless refugees. Nevertheless, prior to their recognition by the Soviet Government, a number of Western governments entered into agreements for the repatriation of nationals. Though most of these agreements had been concluded earlier for the purpose of exchanging war prisoners, the provisions of some included the repatriation of civilians.[43] After the recognition of the Soviet Government by the government of major states the status of the Russian refugees rapidly deteriorated. From foreigners with the attendant privileges of that status, the Russian émigrés were transformed into stateless refugees with a consequent worsening of their juridical and material position.[44]

[42]Ginsburgs, George: The Soviet Union and the Problem of Refugees and Displaced Persons 1917-1956, in The American Journal of International Law (Vol. 51, No. 2) 1957, p. 328.
[43] Ibid., p. 338.
[44]Ibid., p. 339.

In 1930, the League of Nations established the International Office for Refugees, whose main task was to deal with the problem of Russian emigrants. The Office existed till 1938 and its main project was the creation of the so called 'Nansen passport'. This document, named after its ideologist, diplomat and humanitarian, Fridtjof Nansen, allowed persons without citizenship to travel within countries which recognized it. Fridtjof Nansen was an experienced diplomat in refugee related issues. In the early 1920s, he undertook an experiment to deal systematically with the Cossacks issue and to return them to Don, Kuban, and Terek. Nansen negotiated guarantees for Cossacks wanting to return home.[45] These practices provided the basis for the Office for Refugees and the League of Nations activities when dealing with refugees.

Emigration of 'white' Russians to Austria increased after the 1917 October Revolution. Vienna and Baden (as Baden was famous for excellent medical services available in this town and the majority of Russian refugees had health problems caused by the deprived years of their exile) were the two cities that attracted most of the migrants. The Russian emigration to Vienna fits with the conventional discourse on Russian emigration to Europe, as it was subjected to the same processes being a part of global migration trends (see Chapter I). In order to encapsulate Russian emigration to Vienna in detail, the following three facets of Russian emigration are discussed: the role of the Russian Orthodox Church Abroad within the Russian diaspora of the city; the case study of Prince Nikolai Trubetzkoy as a representative of Russian imperial aristocracy in Vienna; and emigration during the years surrounding the Second World War by the example of Princess Marie 'Missie' Vassiltchikov.

[45] Housden, Martyn: White Russians Crossing the Black Sea: Fridtjof Nansen, Constantinople and the First Modern Repatriation of Refugees Displaced by Civil Conflict, 1922-23, in The Slavonic and East European Review (Vol. 88, No. 3) 2010, p. 497.

III. St. Nicholas Cathedral: Religious Impact on the Viennese Russian Diaspora

The presence of the Russian Orthodox Church in other countries like the presence of Russians themselves, did not begin with the October Revolution of 1917, but had started long before the collapse of the Russian Empire. The Romanov Family, for example, had many connections abroad and marriages with the members of foreign aristocracy led to the establishments of chapels for Orthodox religious services so that the Russian born spouses had an opportunity to stay true to their religion. Moreover, as Russians were frequent visitors to main European resorts such Bad Homburg, Wiesbaden, Baden-Baden and many other places, Russian Orthodox churches were built there as well.[46] Thus, at the time of the 1917 October Revolution in Russia the presence of the Russian Orthodox Church in Europe was already relatively significant or at least visible.

The collapse of the Russian Empire was followed by the demolition of the role which church and religion had been playing in the society of tsarist Russia. The Russian Orthodox Church played an important political role in Russia and supported the sovereign ruler and the whole Romanov family. It was not religious skepticism that inspired Soviet antagonism of the church, but tsarist political practices.[47]

The church suffered from the establishment of the Soviet regime on many levels. The center of the Orthodox world had been situated in Russia prior to the Revolution. Thus, with the creation of the Soviet state and its opposition to religion, the Russian Orthodox Church found itself in a difficult situation. The influence of the church collapsed both within Russia and abroad.

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[46] Stricker, Gerd: Russische Orthodoxe Kirchen in der Diaspora 1917-2007 [Russian Orthodox Church in the diaspora]., in Albert J. Davids, Fedor B. Poljakov, Die Russische Diaspora in Europe im 20. Jahrhundert. Religiöses und kulturelles Leben [Russian Diaspora in Europe in the 20th century. Religious and cultural life] (Frankfurt am Main/Vienna 2008), p. 21.

[47] Basil, John D.: Revolutionary Leadership and the Russian Orthodox Church in 1917, in Church History (Vol. 48, No. 2) 1979, p. 190.

However at this stage it seems relevant to elaborate more on the history of the Russian Orthodox Church after the 1917 Revolution. With the fall of the imperial regime the Russian Orthodox Church was left administratively weak. The church was not ready to exist separately from the state. One of the important steps which were aimed to help the church to identify itself under the new circumstances was the recreation of the institute of the patriarch,[48] the head of the church. In January 1918 the Soviet government issued a decree to separate the church and the state.[49] Therefore the church received a complete freedom to establish its institutions and order independently. However as it could have been expected this transition period for the church did not go smoothly. The tradition that the church always supported monarchy and was inherent to the political life in Russia had existed for decades before the Revolution of 1917. It was extremely difficult both for the official representatives of the Russian Orthodox Church and to the common people to adjust to the new conditions. In 1920 during the reformation process the church was in fact split into two parts.[50] This led to the creation of the Russian Orthodox Church Abroad. The Russian Orthodox Church Abroad was founded by priests in exile and this Church expressed its support of the monarchy and moreover opposed itself to the Soviet state. The activities of the Russian Orthodox Church Abroad were condemned by the center of the Russian Orthodox Church in Moscow. It is important to highlight that when talking about the Russian Orthodox Church in Vienna the reference is being made to the Russian Orthodox Church Abroad.

Religion was an important factor in the life of a Russian émigré in Vienna from 1917 to 1945. Usually Russian emigrants of that time were quite religious and the church was a significant institution for their social lives. Vienna is a peculiar case in this matter, as the

[48] The Russian Orthodox Church. Ystroistvo. Polojenie. Deiatelnost [Organization. Order. Activities] (Moscow 1958), p. 7.
[49] Ibid., p. 7.
[50] Ibid., p. 144.

Cathedral of St. Nicholas had been founded in the city already in 1762 and is one of the oldest Russian Orthodox churches in Europe.

Concerning the history of the Russian Orthodox Church in Vienna, up to the middle of the 18th century, Orthodox people living in Vienna went to the Greek Orthodox Church. However, after one of the wars between the Austro-Hungarian and the Ottoman Empires (1737-1739) almost all of the Greeks, including the priests were expelled from the city. Then the Russian government started paying 100 Rubles a year to a Serbian priest, who stayed in the Greek Orthodox Church of St. George[51] (today the church is located on Griechengasse 8 in the first district of Vienna).

In 1750 the first Russian ambassador to Austria, Count Alexey Bestuzhev-Ryumin, wrote in his report that he had employed a Serbian priest Mikhail in order to conduct church services. The ambassador also pointed out a necessity to have an exclusively Russian church, as there were many Orthodox who did not speak Greek and the mass was held in this language. In respond to this request the government decided to send a Russian priest to Vienna. However, only ambassador Prince Dmitry Golitsyn succeeded in establishing an independent Russian Church in Vienna, which was opened later in 1762.[52]

With the beginning of WWI in 1914 the Cathedral was closed. The church was situated on the territory of the Russian Embassy and Russia and the Austro-Hungarian Empire were conflicting parties in the war. At that time the church was under the supervision of Spain, which kept its neutrality during the war. The Cathedral remained officially closed till October 1945,[53] but this did not mean that religious life of Russian Orthodox people in Vienna was put on standstill. Many Russian found their rescue in the religion in the most difficult years of emigration.

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[51] Sobor Svetitelya Nikolaya v Vene [The Orthodox Cathedral of St. Nicholas in Vienna]. (Moscow 2008), p. 9.
[52] Ibid., p. 9.
[53] Ibid., p. 10.

In the 1920s, with the active participation of Prince Nikolai Trubetzkoy (the following chapter is dedicated to his life in Vienna) the Viennese-Baden Orthodox Family Chapel was founded. The masses took place in the building of Nordbahnhof (The Northern Railway Station) or in the apartment of the priest, Protoiereus Alexander.[54]

After the establishment of diplomatic relations between the USSR and the Republic of Austria in 1924, the real estate of the former Russian diplomatic mission, including the Cathedral of St. Nicholas, was given to the Soviet state. The Soviet diplomats used the building of the church as storage and it remained closed for the congregations.[55] The attitude of the Soviet government towards religion is well known and it was no wonder, that many churches within the country were destroyed. Abroad, in such places like Dresden and Leipzig or Vienna, the situation was similar with except that the churches were not destroyed, but rather used for purposes other than those which churches were supposed to be used.

After the Austrian Anschluss in 1938 the Soviet Union closed its diplomatic mission in Vienna. The keys from all the diplomatic properties, including the Cathedral of St. Nicholas were supposedly given to the representative of neutral Switzerland;[56] however there are no written sources recording that. Nevertheless, Germany confiscated all former Russian property later on, violating the juridical norms. The church building was assigned to the today's University of Music and Performing Arts as a dormitory for students and a place where one could organize classes. However, in 1942 it was declared that the building would be used to place homeless people after the air bombings. Nevertheless there were many Orthodox people, who were trying to get inside the

[54]Sobor Svetitelya Nikolaya v Vene [The Orthodox Cathedral of St. Nicholas in Vienna]. (Moscow 2008), p. 19.
[55] Ibid., p. 19.
[56] Ibid., p. 20.

building in order to pray in there, as one can assume. Thus in 1943 the city of Vienna gave in and authorized the use of the church building to conduct religious services.[57]

During the Second World War there was a need amongst the Russian emigrants to come to church. People were devastated and were seeking for spiritual comfort. The evidence for that can be found in the memoirs of the émigrés. Princess Marie 'Missie' Vassiltchikov (Chapter V gives an insight of her life in Vienna in more detail) in her book 'The Berlin Diaries 1940-1945' refers to the services in the Cathedral of St. Nicholas two times in January 1945. Not only did the traditional Christmas mass take place that year on January 7,[58] but most of the Russians in Vienna were concerned about the advancing Soviet Army and the circumstances that could arise for the Russian 'white' aristocrats when the Soviets arrived at Vienna. There was a common fear that a violent reprisal would take place and many émigrés were longing for religion and faith to calm down their fear.

As the building of the Cathedral was officially under authority of the University of Music and Performing Arts, masses were to be announced in advance. The church building was not fully in the possession of the Russian Orthodox Church Abroad. For instance the basement was used in order to hide from the air bombings or foreign diplomats hid their belongings in the building. Luckily the Cathedral was neither destroyed during the air bombings nor during the whole war.

Presently the Cathedral of St. Nicholas is an important center for the Russian speaking Orthodox population of Vienna. The Cathedral was completely renovated from 2003 to 2008, but its historical value has been kept. The church plays an important role for the Russian diaspora living in Vienna today, as it did for the ones who inhabited the city in the beginning of the 20th century.

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[57] Sobor Svetitelya Nikolaya v Vene [The Orthodox Cathedral of St. Nicholas in Vienna]. (Moscow 2008), p. 21.
[58] Vassiltchikov, Marie., The Berlin Diaries, 1940 – 1945. (London 1999), p. 244.

For the first wave of Russian emigrants in Vienna, the church and their religion as a whole was vital, as it was something that connected them with their lost motherland. As almost all the emigrants were sure that their stay in Europe was not permanent and the Soviet government would fail soon, this religious connection to Russia through the Cathedral (and when it was closed through the Viennese-Baden Orthodox Family Chapel) was preserved with a special awareness.

The Russian Orthodox Church Abroad with time became a powerful tool of unification for all Russian émigrés living outside Russia. However its establishment was surrounded by periods of ambiguity and various difficulties. As before the revolution the Orthodox Church had its own voice concerning the political and social events of the day, and this is what had been expected from its successor abroad. However besides the obvious criticism of the Soviet state, the church did not vocalize its opinion on social and political events in the Soviet Union. Therefore its role abroad was different from the one the church used to play in imperial Russia.

The history of the Cathedral of St. Nicholas in Vienna is very relevant to the discourse of Russian emigration after the 1917 October Revolution. It is true that the Cathedral remained closed for a significant time period in the first part of the 20th century from 1914 to 1945. Judging by this fact one can question the importance of the role the Cathedral played in the lives of those Russians living in Vienna from 1917 to 1945. However few things regarding this should be kept in mind. First of all despite the fact that the Cathedral was officially closed by the authorities, religious services still took place in the building unofficially (especially after 1943). It is important to understand that even that the Cathedral did not function to the full extent; this does not mean that the religious life of the Orthodox people in Vienna declined. The Cathedral itself remained a symbolic representation of the Orthodox religion as a whole and that is why it played an important role for people.

Moreover, it is difficult and unnecessary to separate the Cathedral of St. Nicholas and the Russian Orthodox Church Abroad itself. When speaking about the impact of the Cathedral on the lives on the Russians in Vienna, one implies also the influence of the church as a whole. The Russian Orthodox Church Abroad was a very influential tool for diaspora unification. When people gathered for the purpose of religious services, afterwards they could socialize: share their news and concerns with each other. As the Orthodox Cathedral in Vienna was officially closed till 1945 and thus people could not attend masses regularly, religious services took place elsewhere. The importance of these gatherings was growing especially during the end of WWII, when people came to the church (not necessarily to the Cathedral building) in search of spiritual comfort and to escape the devastation caused by their predicament.

The Orthodox religion helped Russian emigrants to cope with challenges they had to face in their exile. This was the case for the majority of Russians living in Europe after the 1917 October Revolution and Vienna was no exception.

IV. Life of Prince Nikolai Trubetzkoy as a Case Study of Russian Emigration to Vienna from the 1920s to 1938

Prince Nikolai Sergeevich Trubetzkoy, a prominent linguist and a philosopher, is one of the first names that come to mind, when speaking about Russian Emigration to Austria, and Vienna in particular, before World War II. Prince Trubetzkoy belonged to the first wave of 'white' Russians, who came to Vienna in the 1920s. He spent 15 years of his emigration in Vienna from 1923 till his death in 1938.

Prince Trubetzkoy was a representative of one of the noblest families in the Russian Empire. At different times his ancestors and relatives occupied important governmental posts and certainly belonged to the most intellectual circles of Russian society. The Trubetzkoy clan had Lithuanian origins and went back to Ruthenian Gediminid gentry

that governed Lithuania from the 14th to the 16th century. After the 1917 October Revolution the Trubetzkoy family left Russia and settled in different European countries.

It seems relevant to dwell on the choice of Prince Trubetzkoy as a case study of Russian emigration to Vienna. There were many Russians living in Vienna from 1923 or even earlier to the outbreak of World War II. The choice of Trubetzkoy was conditioned by a number of reasons.

As already stated Prince Trubetzkoy had an aristocratic background. This was a common feature for many Russian emigrants who came to Europe after the 1917 Revolution, as it was a class migration first of all. Of course it would not be appropriate to say that every Russian emigrant was an aristocrat or a high-ranking official of the former tsarist regime, but these people constituted the majority of the refugees.

Nikolai Trubetzkoy was a famous scientist, a linguist, and moreover, a philosopher. He played a significant role in science while teaching at Moscow State University and later at the University of Vienna. In this sense he also fits into the general picture of Russian emigrants, as in most cases the ones who left the country in the 1920s, were writers, poets, philosophers, scientists (see Chapter II), etc.

Thus, judging by the majority of publications written on post-revolutionary Russian emigration to Europe, Trubetzkoy fits into the framework and provides a portrait of a typical emigrant as an aristocrat and an intellectual, as well as someone, who had left the country in the hope of coming back to Russia after the Soviet regime would fall.

When studying Trubetzkoy's life, one cannot help but notice the synchronicity and interdependence of events in his life and the political and economic changes in Austria. Therefore the research on his experiences in Vienna provides a historical framework for the work. It is possible to see how political developments in Austria from 1923 to 1938 influenced the life of Nikolai Sergeevich and established an impact on life of emigrants in general.

It seems to be useful to start discussion on the life of Nikolai Trubetzkoy in Vienna by a short digest of his life in Russia prior to the Revolution. This would give a better understanding of Trubetzkoy as a person and a scientist.

Nikolai Trubetzkoy was born on April 16, 1890 in Moscow in the family of Sergey Trubetzkoy, the first elected head of Moscow State University, who was also famous for his studies of the works of Plato. Due to his father's social background, Nikolai spent a lot of time with prominent Russian writers and philosophers in his childhood. This made a significant impact on him as a person. One of the frequent guests of the Trubetzkoy family was Vladimir Soloviev, a grand Russian writer and a philosopher. Soloviev's perception of the world made a huge impact on youngsters in the Trubetzkoy family. Eugene Trubetzkoy, Nikolai's uncle, wrote a two-volume publication dedicated to the analysis of Soloviev's philosophy.[59] Nikolai himself first started his studies the Moscow State University at the department of Philosophy.[60] Nevertheless Nikolai Sergeevich later changed his major subject, because languages became his main passion.

Already at the age of fifteen Trubetzkoy published his first scientific articles on paganism and expressed his prime interests in linguistics. When in 1908 the Department of Comparative Linguistics was founded at Moscow State University, Trubetzkoy sent his application to this new department and upon successful exams became a student. The scientists of the Moscow linguistic school made attempts to create a new branch of science and therefore launched the new department at the University. The study process at the Department was extremely challenging and out of twelve students who had been accepted only two managed to graduate. One of them was Michael Peterson who later became a famous specialist in the French language; the other one was Nikolai Trubetzkoy. This portrays Trubetzkoy as a very dedicated and a hard-working person.

[59] Trubetzkoy, Eugene: Mirovozercanie V.S. Solovieva [World perception of V.S. Soloviev] (Moscow 1995).
[60] Krammer, Johann.: Fürst Nikolaj S. Trubetzkoy als Kultur – und Geschichtsphilosoph [Prince Nikolai S. Trubetzkoy as a philosopher of history and culture] (Vienna 1982), p. 3.

By the age of twenty Nikolai Trubetzkoy had already achieved a significant place within the Moscow linguistic school. He believed that the languages on the territory of the Russian Empire were not just a coincidental set of languages, as it had been argued before, but rather built a particular independent group of languages. This was a cornerstone of many of his works in linguistics; however Trubetzkoy was also famous for his outstanding research on the Czech language and the languages spoken in the east of the Russian Empire.[61]

Shortly after his graduation from Moscow State University in 1913, Trubetzkoy was travelling across the country to collect more information on the languages distributed across the Russian Empire. In 1914 he came for an academic stay to the University of Leipzig, Germany. The University of Leipzig was famous for its Department of Linguistics and Trubetzkoy spent a year there. In late 1914 he came back to Moscow, where he was teaching at Moscow State University till the 1917 October Revolution.

As the Trubetzkoy family was closely connected with the dying tsarist regime, the danger of an arrest of all family members was very high. Nikolai Trubetzkoy never considered himself a politician. Unlike his uncle Eugene Trubetzkoy, Nikolai was not a member of the Volunteer Army that fought against the establishment of the Bolshevik Regime in the east of the country. Nevertheless he did not support the political changes happening in Russia. The Marxist philosophical learning was foreign to Nikolai Sergeevich. Moreover, it was impossible for him to stay in Moscow and continue teaching at the University with the family name Trubetzkoy. The impossibility to teach and research at the University, as well as the danger of an arrest made Trubetzkoy leave Russia irrevocably in 1920.

Like many of his compatriots Trubetzkoy left Moscow to go to the east, to Kislovodsk near the Black Sea. Kislovodsk was a common transit point for many 'white'

[61] Unfortunately one did not succeed in finding these publications in Austria.

Russian emigrants. For instance, a legendary opera singer, Fedor Ivanovich Chaliapin, gave his last concert in Russia before emigration in Kislovodsk. Kislovodsk was a center of the emigration through the Caucasus. Usually the emigrants left Kislovodsk for Georgia and Azerbaijan. Therefore in 1918 Nikolai Trubetzkoy arrived at Baku, where he had acquaintances.

The Revolution and the following years of starvation and deprivation inflicted a significant damage on the emigrants' health. Many of these people were suffering their whole lives from chronic illnesses, which they had acquired during the first years of emigration. Nikolai Sergeevich Trubetzkoy was no exception. Some of his diseases were inherited, but his health was almost destroyed by the bad conditions of life especially at the beginning of his emigration in the early 1920s. The first of a whole number of diseases was typhus, which he caught in Azerbaijan.

During his emigration Nikolai Sergeevich was conducting active correspondence with his fellow colleagues and friends, where he touched upon questions of linguistics as well as political and social situations in Russia and Europe. Unfortunately after the Gestapo search, which was held in his Viennese apartment in 1938, many of these letters disappeared. Attempts to recreate these materials after World War II failed. Nevertheless luckily in 1975 a close friend of Nikolai Trubetzkoy, one of the most influential linguists of the 20th century, Roman Jakobson, published his extensive correspondence with Nikolai Sergeevich. 214 letters are a valuable source for research on the life of Nikolai Trubetzkoy. The book which came out of the correspondence between the two linguists is written partly in Russian, English, German and French and was edited by Roman Jakobson himself. This work is a significant information source of the emigration years and the life of Nikolai Sergeevich in Vienna. The citations from the book will be given in commas in English and in brackets in the original language.

Other sources used in the analysis of Trubetzkoy's stay in Vienna is a dissertation of Johann Krammer dedicated to Trubetzkoy's philosophical views - Fürst Nikolaj S. Trubetzkoy als Kultur – und Geschichtsphilosoph [Prince Nikolai S. Trubetzkoy as a philosopher of history and culture].[62]

Unfortunately most of the 'white' emigrants of the first wave (from 1917 to the early 1920s) and their children have already passed away and it is impossible to encounter these people and find out more details on the life of Trubetzkoy in Vienna. Thus letters and scientific works (materials of the Slavic Department of the University of Vienna, especially a volume edited by Prof. Dr. Fedor B. Poljakov[63]) serve as main sources of the present research.

As scientific work was crucial for Trubetzkoy, he came back to Russia in 1919 to teach at Rostov University. Nikolai Sergeevich was offered a chair in Comparative Linguistics. However, as Trubetzkoy acknowledges in the first letter published by Roman Jakobson, dated December 12, 1920, there was no scientific life in Rostov and after intense work in Moscow he felt as if he had been left aside.[64] Later in 1920 he made a decision to move to Bulgaria, where he was able to get a teaching position at the University of Sofia.

After the 1917 Revolution many Russian linguists had to leave the country. Roman Jakobson went teaching at universities in Czechoslovakia. Nevertheless the revolution made the world of Slavic studies very competitive for scientists. The Slavic Studies Departments at the European Universities had been developing rapidly. However the competition to get teaching positions was very high, as not only European specialists of

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62 This work has already been cited above, when describing the early years of Trubetzkoy in Moscow.
63 Stricker, Gerd: Russische Orthodoxe Kirchen in der Diaspora [Russian Orthodox Church in the diaspora]., in Albert J. Davids, Fedor B. Poljakov, Die Russische Diaspora in Europe im 20. Jahrhundert. Religiöses und kulturelles Leben [Russian Diaspora in Europe in the 20th century. Religious and cultural life] (Frankfurt am Main/Vienna 2008).
64 Jakobson, Roman: N.S. Trubetzkoy's letters and notes (Berlin/New York/ Amsterdam 1985), p. 2.

Slavic languages had been seeking to fill the positions, but Russian emigrants themselves now were also eager to work at these departments.

Czechoslovakia was one of the most popular destinations of Russian emigrants with scientific backgrounds. The Charles University in Prague became a home university for many Russian students and professors. The government of Czechoslovakia even assigned a grant for Russian emigrants to establish the Department of Law at the Charles University. There were also some teaching positions for Slavic studies professors.

In the same letter from December 12, 1920 to Roman Jakobson Prince Trubetzkoy compares Sofia, the place of his residence at the time, and Prague. "What advantage does Sofia have over Czechoslovakia? Here my salary is very low and it is not enough to provide my own living, but the situation will be the same there. However, I am busy at the University [in Sofia] only four hours a week (six from the next year), and I am free for the rest of the time, I can use this opportunity to have a side job. One can get a job here, although it is rather difficult. In Czechoslovakia I might not be able to do that. The advantage of Prague is its library, which is undoubtedly better that the one here. However in a Czech province and this is the only place I can count for, there is no advantage like that [Какой же плюс, в таком случае, представляет Чехия по сравнению с Софией? Здесь я получаю очень мало и жалования мне на жизнь не хватает, но и там хватать не будет. При том здесь я занят в университете только 4 часа в неделю (с будущего года 6), а все прочее время свободен и могу пользоваться своим временем для того, чтобы подрабатывать. Заработок здесь в общем найти можно, хотя и трудно, а там, в Чехии, может быть и не удастся найти его. Преимущество Праги составляет конечно, библиотека, которая несомненно

лучше и полнее здешней. Но в чешской провинции, на которую я только и имею право рассчитывать, этого преимущества нет]".[65]

By 1920 Nikolai Trubetzkoy had published only eight papers in the field of ethnology and folklore, but nothing in linguistics.[66] Despite his reputation of being a talented scientist, publications were an essential condition for being accepted as a lecturer at a European university. This was the reason Trubetzkoy did not run the risk of losing his position in Sofia and moving to the academic centers, like Prague or Vienna, with more opportunities for Slavic languages research. Therefore Trubetzkoy decided to use his time in Sofia for writing articles and only then to think about changing place of residence. "I guess now I should mainly concentrate on working on my reputation in science. I should write more and have more articles published. So far I have been working mainly for myself or in the best scenario in order to make a report in a scientific group and did not care to prepare my works for publications. Now it is time to change that and write only works that will be published. As soon as I have a decent number of publications and I become more well-known, then one can think about changing a university and moving to Prague, Serbia, or maybe even Germany or the United States – it does not make any difference where to go, as I cannot come back to Russia [По моему, мне теперь надо главным образом составить себе хотя бы некоторое имя в науке, побольше писать и печатать. До сих пор я писал больше для себя, в лучшем случае для прочтения в научном обществе и не давал себе труда отделывать для печати. Теперь надо это изменить и писать только для напечатания. Когда у меня накопится известное количество печатных работ и составится известная репутация, - тогда можно будет подумать о перемене университета и переехать куда-нибудь, в ту же Прагу, в Сербию, а то и в Германию, даже в Америку, - не все ли равно куда,

[65] Jakobson, Roman: N.S. Trubetzkoy's letters and notes. (Berlin/New York/ Amsterdam 1985), p. 5.
[66] Ibid., p. 3.

раз нельзя в Россию]".[67] Like the majority of 'white' emigrants Trubetzkoy was devastated by the impossibility to come back to his home country. Interestingly in 1920 he did not consider Vienna as his new home, although he was to move to Vienna in three years' time.

Prince Trubetzkoy was married to Vera Bazilevskaja. It was a happy marriage and Vera Petrovna accompanied her husband in all places of his emigration and was a faithful companion in all of Trubetzkoy's enterprises. The couple had two daughters. The second daughter was born already in emigration. The two welcomed their second child in 1920 in Sofia. This was another reason for Trubetzkoy to stay settled in Bulgaria for some time, as it was difficult to move with a little child.

Nikolai Trubetzkoy was a founder of a philosophical movement, Eurasianism. This fact of his biography has not been mentioned so far, however his participation in this movement played a significant role in the life of Trubetzkoy. It was in Sofia where Trubetzkoy published a book, 'Europe and Mankind'[68], which had nothing to do with linguistics, but was rather connected to ethnography.[69] Eurasianism became a movement very popular within 'white' emigration circles in Europe from the 1920s to the 1930s. It had its roots in the Slavophil movements of the 19th century in Russia. The idea behind it was that the Russian Empire should oppose everything Western and should developed upon values adherent to its ancestors from the early history. Eurasianism like the Slavophil movement rejected Western values and was based on an idea of integration of Russia with the countries of Central Asia. Trubetzkoy's book made a strong impression on his contemporaries.[70] The intention of the author was to describe the regularity and paradoxes of the process of Europeanization, i.e. the adoption of non-European peoples

[67] Jakobson, Roman: N.S. Trubetzkoy's letters and notes (Berlin/New York/ Amsterdam 1985), p. 5.
[68] Trubetzkoy, Nikolai: Europa und Menschheit [Europe and Mankind] (Munich 1922).
[69] Krammer, Johann: Fürst Nikolaj S. Trubetzkoy als Kultur – und Geschichtsphilosoph [Prince Nikolai S. Trubetzkoy as a philosopher of history and culture] (Vienna 1982), p. 7.
[70] Mazurek, Slawomir; Torr, Guy R.: Russian Eurasianism: Historiography and Ideology, in Studies in East European Thought (Vol. 54, No. 1/2) 2002, p. 108.

of the technological and intellectual achievements of Romano-Germanic culture.[71] According to Trubetzkoy, the attempts at Europeanization lead to backwardness: nations which underwent this process were condemned to remain backward since they are subjected to the strength of the dialectics and paradoxes of Europeanization itself.[72] With time this publication provided the basis for the whole philosophical movement. Therefore for those who are not affiliated with linguistics today, the name of Prince Trubetzkoy is mostly associated with Eurasianism.

Meanwhile the political situation in Bulgaria was not stable. Moreover, as Roman Jakobson pointed out in one of the notes to a letter of August 12, 1922, Nikolai Sergeevich considered his academic outlooks in Bulgaria very unreliable.[73] The combination of these two factors formed his decision to leave Sofia. However, the situation was not easy for Trubetzkoy. He wrote to Jakobson in the same letter of August 12, 1922: "It seems, that I have made a mistake to leave Bulgaria without any offers from other places. I can only console myself, that they would have made me leave anyway and in any case to stay there would prevent me from performing my scientific work [Кажется, я сделал глупость, порвав с Болгарией, не заручившись ничем в другом месте. Меня утешает только то, что все равно из Болгарии выставили бы, и, во всяком случае, оставаться там, значит отказаться от научной работы]".[74]

By 1922 Nikolai Trubetzkoy had in mind two places where he and his family could go to: the first one was Brno and the second, a rather unexpected one, Vienna. Trubetzkoy had been invited to the University of Brno by a famous Czech linguist, Oldrich Hujer, who was teaching in Prague and was ready to support Trubetzkoy's application. Directly in Brno Trubetzkoy had negotiations with Prof. Vaclav Vondrak who was teaching at the

[71] Mazurek, Slawomir; Torr, Guy R.: Russian Eurasianism: Historiography and Ideology, in Studies in East European Thought (Vol. 54, No. 1/2) 2002, p. 108.
[72]Ibid., p. 108.
[73] Jakobson, Roman: N.S. Trubetzkoy's letters and notes (Berlin/New York/ Amsterdam 1985), p. 30.
[74] Ibid., p. 30.

University at the time. However, at the same time Trubetzkoy was contacted by Dr. phil. Hans Übersberger, a famous specialist in Russian history from the University of Vienna. But the problem was that the Chair of Slavic Philology in Vienna, the one that Trubetzkoy was hoping to get, was offered to another specialist in Slavic studies, Reinhold Trautmann. Rumor had it that Trautmann had also been invited to Berlin to hold a similar position and he was using the offer from the University of Vienna to speed up the negotiators in Berlin. Thus Nikolai Trubetzkoy agreed on the proposal form the University of Vienna, but it turned out to be a mistake, as Trautmann officially accepted the offer from Vienna.[75] As Trubetzkoy stopped his negotiations with Brno, while discussing his possible position in Vienna, the Czech side lost interest in his candidacy.

Complaining about his decision and speaking about his future plans, Nikolai Sergeevich wrote to Roman Jakobson in the letter dated August 12, 1922 the following: "It looks like I will fall to the ground between two stools. If I were on my own, it would be easy. But I have a family and this is more difficult. For now I decided to go to Vienna, where life is cheap and where I have relatives. First of all I will have medical treatment there, as my health has got worse (stomach or nerves are concerning me, very bad overall)[Очень похоже, что останусь сидеть между двух стульев. Если бы я был один, это было бы очень просто. Но у меня семья, и это уже хуже. Я решил пока-что переехать в Вену, где жизнь дешевая и где у меня есть родные. Там я прежде всего полечусь, ибо здоровье мое сильно расстроилось (не то кишки, не то нервы, в общем скверно)]".[76] Thus Trubetzkoy's decision to move to Vienna was caused by the cost of living in the city, the fact that he had relatives in town and excellent Austrian medical services.

[75] Jakobson, Roman: N.S. Trubetzkoy's letters and notes (Berlin/New York/ Amsterdam 1985), p. 30.
[76] Ibid., p. 31.

Prince Trubetzkoy and his family came to Austria in December 1922. First he stayed at his uncle's place in Baden not far away from the capital. George Trubetzkoy was a Russian politician and a diplomat of the tsarist regime. He was one of the two brothers of Sergey Trubetzkoy, Nikolai's father. George Trubetzkoy immigrated to Austria from Crimea and had been living in Baden since 1920. His address there was Marchetstraße 78.[77] He died in Paris in January 1930.

By 1923 Nikolai Trubetzkoy had started his work at the Chair of Slavic Philology of the University of Vienna. In February 1923 he wrote to Roman Jakobson about his workload at the University: "I have to teach five hours per week and the course should not be repeated earlier than in the seventh semester. Thus I have to prepare classes for a period of three years and six Slavic languages should be included in it… Besides I need to examine PhD candidates, read their dissertations, go through the papers and examine the ones, who are preparing to become teachers, conduct seminars, take part in the faculty meetings and many committees [Я обязан читать 5 часов в неделю, и курсы не должны повторяться раньше чем на 7-й семестр. Т.о., надо подготовить курсы на 3 года, причем в число этих курсов должны войти 6 славянских языков… Кроме того, надо экзаменовать "докторов", читать их диссертации, прочитывать работы и экзаменовать готовящихся на звание учителя, вести семинарии, заседать в факультете и в многочисленных факультетских комиссиях]".[78] In spite of these challenges, which were accompanied by difficulties to settle in Vienna for the whole Trubetzkoy family, Nikolai Sergeevich Trubetzkoy later will be known as one of the most dedicated holders of the Chair of Slavic Philology at the University of Vienna.

One of the students of Nikolai Sergeevich, Alexander Issatschenko, in his essay 'N.S. Trubetzkoy als Lehrer [N.S. Trubetzkoy as a tutor]' described the state of the Chair of

[77] Jakobson, Roman: N.S. Trubetzkoy's letters and notes (Berlin/New York/ Amsterdam 1985), p. 32.
[78] Ibid., p. 46.

Slavic Philology, which Trubetzkoy undertook in 1923. "For many years Nikolai Sergeevich had to develop and cover a field without any help of freelance university lecturers and the proper educated teaching staff. Meanwhile in any Slavic university dozens of lecturers and professors work on it".[79]

Alexander Issatschenko also made a reference to the nature of Trubetzkoy's lectures and seminars: "What attracted his students the most were the relative clarity of his teaching style, his cold-minded logics and the disarming simplicity of his arguments. In the last years Trubetzkoy was fluent in German to such an extent, that he gave lectures without draft notes. His lectures were built in a way that after the contributions of Trubetzkoy students could almost always come to unexpected conclusions independently".[80]

Prince Trubetzkoy was lucky to find employment without changing his profession. Many of his compatriots, 'white' emigrants from Russia, had to adjust to the harsh situation on the labor market and work as servants, waiters, etc. However Trubetzkoy was a scientist and that was his advantage. The timing, his position in the scientific world of linguistics, maybe to some extent his title with a 'prince' in front of his surname and pure luck – the combination of these factors secured the future of Trubetzkoy in Vienna.

The Trubetzkoy family did not succeed in finding an apartment in Vienna straight away. In 1923 Nikolai Sergeevich had to travel from Baden to Vienna to attend his lectures. Sometimes he took a train, which came to Baden from Hungary and had a stop in Vienna.[81]

During his years in Vienna from 1923 to 1938 Trubetzkoy changed apartments a couple of times. His first address in Vienna was Dorotheergasse 12, 3. Nikolai Sergeevich

[79] Issatschenko, Alexander: N.S. Trubetzkoy als Lehrer [N.S. Trubetzkoy as a tutor]., in Fedor B. Poljakov, Nikolaj S. Trubetzkoy, Russland – Europe – Eurasien, Ausgewählte Schriften zur Kulturwissenschaft. [Nikolaii S. Trubetzkoy, Russia – Europe – Eurasia, The Selected Works on Cultural Studies] (Vienna, 2005), p. 437.
[80] Ibid., p. 439.
[81] Jakobson, Roman: N.S. Trubetzkoy's letters and notes (Berlin/New York/ Amsterdam 1985), p. 46.

wrote about this place: " Before the semester started I was able to get an apartment in Vienna. It is a real flat with five rooms where everything is available. It is a ten minute walk from the University. I even feel a bit strange! [Перед началом семестра мне наконец удалось получить квартиру в Вене. Настоящая квартира, в 5 комнат со всем необходимым и в самом центре города, в 10 минутах ходьбы от университета! Чувствую себя даже как то дико]".[82] The Trubetzkoy family lived here till 1933. In 1934 they moved to a flat on Tuchlauben 13. Today there is a memorial plate on this house, indicating that Prince Trubetzkoy lived in this building. Both flats of the Trubetzkoy family were located in the prestigious first district of Vienna.

On the surface the life of Trubetzkoy in Vienna was cloudless: he had a happy family with his wife and their two children, a position at the University and comfortable housing conditions. Nevertheless his life was full of ups and downs.

Nikolai Sergeevich suffered from the lack of his published works. He wrote to his friend, Jakobson, on January 1, 1925: "If you can say so, I have almost stopped working. The fact that nothing of my works has been published for a long time lowers my enthusiasm. I have a feeling that I am being restricted… Maybe only now my professorship at an Austrian university makes an impact… Under such conditions I have no desire to work and edit my articles: there is no certainty that it will be published [Работать я, можно сказать, почти перестал. Как то очень расхолаживает то обстоятельство, что уже давно ничего моего в печати не появлялось. У меня такое впечатление, что меня теперь стали зажимать… Может быть теперь только стало складываться то обстоятельство, что я – профессор австрийского университета… При таких условиях, конечно, нет охоты писать и отделывать до конца: нет уверенности, что напечатают]".[83] On June 27, 1930 Trubetzkoy said: "I have also been

[82] Jakobson, Roman: N.S. Trubetzkoy's letters and notes (Berlin/New York/ Amsterdam 1985), p. 57.
[83] Ibid., p. 78.

in a state of a complete exhaustion recently (almost for two months). And now I am trying to overcome my energy decay [Я тоже последнее время (чуть ли не два месяца) пребываю в полной научной прострации. Я сейчас всячески стараюсь преодолеть длительный и основательный упадок собственной энергии]".[84]

Nevertheless Nikolai Trubetzkoy was a very successful scientist and his work got due acknowledgment during his emigration in Austria. "On Tuesday, June 3, there was a meeting of the Austrian Academy of Science, where I was elected a full member of the Academy. I am extremely happy about this [Во вторник 3-го июня состоялось заседание Венской Академии Наук, на котором меня избрали действительным членом Академии. Я этому очень рад]".[85]

For his whole life Nikolai Sergeevich was suffering from miserable health. Numerous illnesses prevented him from working to a full extent and were a source of his deep emotional depression. For instance, in 1926 he had a stroke from which he was recovering with difficulties. On June 24, 1929 Trubetzkoy wrote to Jakobson: "My health leaves much to be desired. Following the advice of Sofja Nikolaevna [M.D., wife of Roman Jacobson] I went to have an X-ray examination of my jaw taken. It turned out that there was something in it as a consequence of a neglected tooth. Now my tooth has been taken out, but the condition hasn't improved much. Sometimes I have fever. Perhaps a more serious operation will be necessary. This is so boring, and the main thing is that it declines my ability to work [Здоровье мое оставляет желать лучшего. По совету Софии Николаевны [супруги Романа Якобсона, врача по профессии] дал рентгенизировать свою челюсть. Оказалось, что в кости действительно что то есть, по видимому вследствие одного запущенного зуба. Теперь зуб вырван, но положение мало улучшилось. Иногда бывает и температура. Возможно, что

[84] Jakobson, Roman: N.S. Trubetzkoy's letters and notes (Berlin/New York/ Amsterdam 1985), p. 158.
[85] Ibid., p. 159.

придется оперироваться более основательно. Это очень скучно и понижает работоспособность]".[86] These are only few out of many examples, when Nikolai Sergeevich mentioned his poor health condition in the letters to Roman Jakobson. Diseases were a tease for Trubetzkoy and in 1933 even made him start seeing a psychologist (his name does not appear in the letters) to cope with his predicament. Prince Trubetzkoy used to say ironically: "How inconvenient it is that a human being has so many body organs… [Вообще, неудобно, что у человека так много разных органов…]".[87]

In order to have some relief from the city life and to recover from numerous health problems, the Trubetzkoy family spent every summer outside of Vienna. Mostly they went somewhere in Austria, but also from time to time spent their vacations in France, where Trubetzkoy's sister lived. In the summer of 1927 they went to Graz. In two summers their destination was Krems and later in 1933 St.-Oswald near Freistadt. In most cases Trubetzkoy lived either in guesthouses or resorts, where he could have a proper medical treatment. Usually these trips were very helpful and by September and October, when the semester at the University started, Trubetzkoy managed to recover.

When researching the life of Trubetzkoy in Vienna, one mainly encounters facts and details describing either his linguistic work or his private life. His activities within Eurasianism and philosophical work are not mentioned often in his letters to Roman Jakobson, for instance. Moreover, one could assume that within Austria Nikolai Trubetzkoy is more famous as a linguist, than as a founder of an ideological and philosophical movement.

Nikolai Trubetzkoy published all in all 24 works dedicated to philosophy and culture. Most of these works were published in journals and edited volumes, namely in Sofia

[86] Jakobson, Roman: N.S. Trubetzkoy's letters and notes (Berlin/New York/ Amsterdam 1985), p. 136.
[87] Ibid., p. 256.

from 1920 to 1921, then in Berlin from 1922 to 1925 and later in Paris from 1927 to 1929.[88] In 1928 he broke up with all the institutions of the Eurasianism movement. By that time Eurasianism had become an important tool for political activities of 'white' emigrants in Europe. He did not want to be involved in political squabbling within the movement. However he continued publishing his articles on Eurasianism in general, including one essay in 1933 in Narva, another one in 1935 in Paris and two more in Berlin in 1935 and 1937.[89]

Despite all the attempts by Trubetzkoy to stay out of politics, it was difficult for him to remain not politically involved in the late 1930s. Nikolai Sergeevich never kept secret his views against National Socialism. With the change of the political situation in Austria and a rise of German-unification sympathy, Trubetzkoy became a persona non-grata.

In his letter to Roman Jakobson dated August 2, 1937 from a resort in Burgenland, Austria, Trubetzkoy wrote: "Now I am in the country house in Burgenland. It is a small resort and there are mostly Jews, who come here. You can hear more Yiddish than German in the park. Within the resort area all the restaurants are kosher. However when you go outside there is swastika drawn on every third stone or tree [Теперь сижу на даче в Бургенланде, в маленьком курорте, где лечатся преимущественно хасиды весьма живописного вида. В курпарке слышно больше идиш чем немецкий язык, в самом курорте почти все рестораны, кафе и рестораны кошерные. Зато, как только выйдешь за пределы курорта, так на каждом третьем камне или дереве видишь выцарапанную или накрашенную свастику]".[90]

[88] Krammer, Johann: Fürst Nikolaj S. Trubetzkoy als Kultur – und Geschichtsphilosoph [Prince Nikolai S. Trubetzkoy as a philosopher of history and culture] (Vienna 1982), p. 11.
[89] Ibid., p. 11.
[90] Jakobson, Roman: N.S. Trubetzkoy's letters and notes (Berlin/New York/ Amsterdam 1985), p. 396.

Trubetzkoy published a number of articles criticizing National Socialism. The most famous one, 'About Racism' was published in 1935 in a journal 'Eurasian notes [Евразийские тетради]'.[91] In this essay Trubetzkoy compared racism with a neurosis.[92]

In March 1938 the Gestapo broke into the Viennese flat of the Trubetzkoy family with a house-check and interrogated Nikolai Sergeevich in its headquarters for a couple of hours. Vera Petrovna wrote to Roman Jakobson later that "the house-check alarmed my husband to a degree that he had a severe attack of angina pectoris".[93] By the time Trubetzkoy had already been sick for some time and had suffered from serious heart problems. His health was so weak that he was not able to stand the stress he was subjected to by the Gestapo. Nikolai Trubetzkoy died in hospital in Vienna on June 25, 1938.

The Gestapo campaign against Prince Trubetzkoy had been foreseeable before 1938. The Trubetzkoy family had relatives and friends in Europe and the United States and Nikolai Sergeevich had been thinking about leaving Vienna, but had been lingering with this move because of his health weakness. Prince Lobkovic, a member of one of the oldest aristocratic families in Bohemia, was one of the numerous friends of Trubetzkoy in Vienna and invited him and his family to come and stay in his Roudnice castle in Bohemia. Nikolai Sergeevich kindly rejected this invitation, as he was hoping to migrate to the United States in the nearest future. The latter was not supposed to happen.

The experience of Prince Trubetzkoy in Vienna enables one to judge the situation for 'white' emigrants in the city from 1923 to 1938 and gives hints on a degree to which Vienna influenced his life and work.

There had been Russians in Vienna prior to the 1917 October Revolution. However with no doubt, the political and social changes in Russia increased the number of people

[91]Jakobson, Roman: N.S. Trubetzkoy's letters and notes (Berlin/New York/ Amsterdam 1985), p. 467.
[92] Ibid., p. 473.
[93] Ibid., p. 423.

with Russian origins in Austria. Vienna attracted 'white' emigrants with relative affordability of life. Moreover, many emigrants had family members, who had been already living in town for some time and this fact made moving to Vienna easier. Austria in general was also lucrative for all those who had health problems (health problems common for the emigrants of the first wave, as the time period from 1917 onwards was extremely difficult) and were able to spend some money on the recovery in medical resorts here. These three factors brought to town Nikolai Trubetzkoy in particular.

As for the employment situation in Vienna, Prince Trubetzkoy was more an exception than a rule. Due to his position in the scientific world, his connections (some of his friends supported his applications to the Universities of Brno and Vienna) and maybe even to some degree to his title, he was lucky to get a position in the academia. The Revolution increased the number of linguists of Slavic languages in Europe, as many researchers had to leave Russia. The competition among these people was really high, as the positions at universities were limited.

Prince Trubetzkoy proved himself to be an excellent lecturer and a talented linguist, as well as a very professional Head of the Chair of Slavic Philology at the University of Vienna. For his work his stay in Vienna was very beneficial, as he published a lot of works and developed numerous seminars and lectures for his students.

The rejection of the Soviet regime and an overwhelming desire to come back home one day, as well as the impossibility to come back at the same time devastated almost all the emigrants without exception and is the last, but not the least common feature of Russian emigrants. In Nikolai Trubetzkoy's letters and his publication on Eurasianism one cannot help but notice his pain about the fact that he cannot come back to Russia. Despite all success in academia and some life comfort in Vienna, the destiny of Prince Trubetzkoy is tragic story of the whole 'lost' generation of 'white' Russian emigrants in Europe.

V. Russian Emigrants' Predicament in Vienna in the Course of the Second World War

World War II was a juncture that turned the life of Russian emigrants in Vienna upside down. The impact of the Soviet victories (the battle of Stalingrad in 1942/1943, the battle of Kursk in 1943, etc.) on everyday life of émigrés was enormous and this influence was most evident at the end of the war. The study of the lives of Russians in Vienna at the end of WWII is essential in terms of understanding the changes that were caused by the war.

This chapter of the paper is divided into two parts. The first part deals with a case study of a Russian emigrant's experience in Vienna during the war years. The second part is dedicated to the study of the juridical impact of World War II and its aftermath on Russian émigrés and their legal status.

The analysis of the life of Russian emigrants in Vienna during WWII is based on a primary source, a book, memoirs to be precise, written by a young Russian aristocrat, Marie 'Missie' Vassiltchikov. Princess Vassiltchikov like many others left Russia after the 1917 October Revolution (in 1919) and grew up in Germany, France and Lithuania. Missie wrote one of the most detailed stories of Russian emigrational life 'The Berlin Diaries 1940 - 1945', which is now highly acclaimed throughout the world. One of the distinctive features of this work is that the author describes not only the political events, but also the emotions of everyday life that she experienced. The frankness of the exposition gives the reader the unique opportunity to evaluate the experiences of Russian refugees in Vienna during the war years from the viewpoint of an insider.

The last war years were spent by Princess Vassiltchikov in Vienna and reflect her life in the city with many details, which are important for the discourse. Some abstracts from this book have already been referred to in the previous chapter dedicated to the Church's role in the life of Russians living in Vienna.

Some words need to be said about Missie Vassiltchikov and her family in the beginning in order to have a full picture of her life situation. Princess Vassiltchikov grew up as an emigrant, but never forgot her roots and strongly held the idea that of all emigrants of Russian origin should return to their home country as soon as Soviet rule was over. This strongly held view had never been questioned at least until the Soviet victory in the Second World War. In the 1930s Missie and her sister Tatiana (now Princess Metternich) lived in Berlin. The Vassiltchikov family was spread all over Europe, as it was impossible to find jobs and housings for the whole family in one city. It was quite difficult to get a work permit for a foreigner in any European capital due to the severe economic crisis in the 1930s, but in Germany it was still possible, as the country had massive programs for rearmament under the Nazis. The Vassiltchikov girls were stateless and given their circumstances could only find employment positions in Berlin. However one should give Missie and Tatiana credit: the two girls had a very high level of education and spoke several European languages fluently in addition to Russian. Moreover, as their aristocratic ties in Europe were solid, the family had influential friends, who were able to help the girls during their stay in Berlin.

Missie's diary starts when she arrives in the German capital and begins her work as a secretary in the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs. These chapters of the diary are especially interesting when it comes to the description of the assassination attempt of Hitler (which took place in East Prussia on July 20, 1944) and in which Missie's boss, Adam von Trott, was involved. Missie knew about the plot and took an indirect part in its preparation. When the assassination failed all those who participated were in danger and the possibility of being arrested by the Gestapo was very high. The chapters of the memoirs dedicated to this historical event could be used as a standalone reference document on the subject of Hitler's assassination as it provides a lot of detail and insight, but this is of course an independent topic and deserves a separate observation.

Nevertheless this event has to be mentioned, as it accelerated Missie's departure from Berlin, as staying in the city would have been a dangerous decision.

Consequently, because of the possibility to be arrested and worsening living conditions in Berlin, Princess Vassiltchikov left Germany and came to Vienna. The narration of Missie's stay in Vienna starts in January 1945. Like many other Russian emigrants coming to the city, she had relatives in Austria and that was one of the main reasons to come to the city. Missie's sister Tatiana and her husband, Paul Metternich, had already arrived and settled in Vienna by the time Missie arrived.

At this point it might be interesting to have a closer look at the Metternich family and its relation to Austrian history. Paul Metternich, Tatiana's husband, was a descendant of a famous chancellor Prince Klemens Wenzel von Metternich. A skillful political animal Prince Metternich was appointed Foreign Minister (Minister der Äußeren) in 1809.[94] He is recorded in history as being one of the most prominent diplomats during the Napoleonic wars and as a host of the Congress of Vienna in 1815 that established the new world order for more than thirty years. Thus Paul Metternich's famous relative shows, that he was a descendant of a family with a special place in Austrian history. Through Paul Metternich's marriage to Tatiana, the Vassiltchikov girls entered the *crème de la crème* of the Viennese aristocracy. This fact is relevant for the further discussion about Missie's life in Vienna.

That is what Missie wrote on January 4, 1945 regarding her first days in Vienna: "In the train the other night we were told that the air raids on Vienna were picking up. Here the Americans do most of the bombing from their base in Italy, usually in broad daylight. The trams (which are the only public transport inside the town that still functions) run apparently only in midday. I was a bit worried since I had as usual too much luggage,

[94] Markus, Georg: Was uns geblieben ist. Das österreichische Familienbuch. [What do we have left. The Austrian family book] (Vienna 2010), p. 127.

plus a goose (plucked). Luckily, a Russian ex-prisoner of war volunteered to carry my stuff in exchange for a sizeable number of cigarettes. On the long walk home he told me that Stalin is planning an amnesty and that 'we may all go home soon'. He added that he had hardly anything to eat lately and so when we reached our destination – Antoinette Görne-Croy's two-room flat on Modenaplatz, which I will be sharing with her – I gave him all the food I found there". [95] The reference to the conversation with the former Russian soldier and in particular his suggestion that Russian refugees (both prisoners of war and people, who had left the country after 1917) could soon go home was not far from reality. In fact after the end of World War II the Soviet government issued a decree and invited these displaced persons to come back. However obviously the Vassiltchikov family did not use an opportunity to become Soviet citizens, because they did not support the Soviet regime.

Like many other Russians already living in Vienna or those who has just arrived in 1945, Missie had significant health problems. Despite the war conditions, excellent medical services, which Austria was famous for, were still available in Vienna. This was one of the reasons among others why many came to the city. Upon her arrival Missie had a medical check-up and the doctor found an enlarged thyroid: the years of starvation had not passed without effect.

Despite her poor health Missie needed to look for a job, as she could not afford to live in Vienna. That is why on the second day of her stay, she went to the Employment Office, where she was offered a job as a nurse. Missie was extremely happy to be offered this opportunity as she had always longed for to work as a nurse from the very beginning of the war. Missie remembers: "I was interviewed this morning by the head doctor a swarthy fellow who had lived for eighteen years in India. This is good news, as theirs is considered the best hospital in Vienna. But I may have to take a refresher course, as they

[95] Vassiltchikov, Marie: The Berlin Diaries, 1940 – 1945 (London 1999), p. 243.

want us general nurses to be able in an emergency to replace the male medical orderlies, who are all being sent off to the front. This training includes first-aid under fire (in case we are posted to an airfield), etc. I have been given a Red Cross uniform, a new set of identity papers and a metal tag on which my name is engraved twice and which can be broken in two if I am 'killed in action', one half being then sent back to my 'dear ones' – a rather weird feeling".[96]

On January 16, 1945 Missie wrote only a single sentence: "The Russians have entered East Prussia".[97] The absence of any comment and the stark and simple statement may signify that the advancement of the Soviet army, referred to simply as "the Russians", not the Soviets, did not evoke any feelings except the clear understanding of the inevitable and irrevocable outcome. By the beginning of 1945 the Soviet success in the war was already noticeable and Russian emigrants started preparing for the changes which it would bring it into their lives. This supposition is supported by the note from January 18: "Together with many other nurses I was summoned to the Air Force Regional Head Quarters, where they offered to send me off to Bad Ischl, Salzkammergut. This poses a dilemma, for I do not want to leave Vienna just now and yet it is perfectly clear that if I stay on, I may not get out at all, as the Russians are advancing steadily. Finally, I made up my mind and told them that I preferred to work on in Vienna. When this evening I told Antoinette Görne and Ferdl Kyburg my decision, they were absolutely horrified. The Russians have taken Warsaw".[98]

Meanwhile the air raids on Vienna continued. The neighborhood Missie lived in suffered a lot of damage. For a significant amount of time, there was neither water nor light in the flat. Missie writes about her everyday life as follows: "Have started work at the lazaretto. It used to be known as merchants' hospital and would be nice, were it not

[96] Vassiltchikov, Marie: The Berlin Diaries, 1940 – 1945 (London 1999), p. 244.
[97] Ibid., p. 243.
[98] Ibid., p. 245.

for the fact that it is located on a hill behind the large Türkenschanzpark in the 19th district, which is almost out of town. The tram trip alone takes one hour and since transport, generally, is agonizing slow these days, the streets being either pitted with bomb craters or covered with snow, I must get up at 6 a.m.". [99]

By the middle of February 1945 the air raids had become heavier. The Princess writes on February 10: "The raids are getting worse. This is the third one in as many days. Our head doctor has issued orders that those patients who are able to work, as well as the younger nurses, may no longer stay on at the hospital during these raids but must take shelter in the long railway tunnel that runs through the Türkenschanzpark, about five minutes' walk away. As the whole neighborhood seems to think this is the safest place, over eighty thousand persons crowd into it daily. They start queuing up at 9 a.m. and by the time the sirens sound, there is seething mass milling around the entrance, trying to force their way in. Since one cannot possibly face this sort of situation daily, which is made worse by the fact that we have to stay on at the hospital until the very last minute and so are invariably the last to arrive, we have only been there a couple of times. I must admit, however, that my nerves (which are bad enough as it is as a result of all those raids I lived through in Berlin) are not improving and when the bombs start clashing here in Vienna as well, I am pretty shaken each time".[100]

In Vienna there were two places where life was conducted as if there was no war taking place; the two legendary hotels The Imperial and The Bristol. Aristocrats and some Russian immigrants resided there and Missie was one of the lucky ones, who were able to get a room in The Bristol, and where she lived for some time.

The friends of Missie had been trying to persuade her to leave Vienna and move further to the West as the Soviet army was advancing and no one was sure how the

[99] Vassiltchikov, Marie: The Berlin Diaries, 1940 – 1945 (London 1999), p. 246.
[100] Ibid., p. 248.

Russian émigrés would be treated. Missie made two notes in her dairy in March 1945 regarding this situation. First she wrote that a friend of a friend, Leopold Fugger, a general in the Air Force (German Air Force), could use his influence and help to transfer her to Gmunden, where there was another hospital. She went on by saying that "Poldi Fugger promised to put my case to the regional air chief M.O., who, to us, is God Almighty but who happens to be a friend of his. Actually, I am doing all this mainly to reassure my friends, who do not think that Vienna can hold out for more than another ten days and who are horrified that I am still here. Indeed, the Russians are advancing steadily and if they do not arrive sooner, this will certainly not be due to German resistance, which, we hear, is slackening visibly".[101]

One of the most severe air attacks on Vienna happened on March 12, 1945. In the memoir Missie describes vividly the events of that day and especially how the bombs destroyed the Opera House. She sympathized with the Viennese people by saying that "… to their generation Vienna was like our bedrooms are to us: every corner belonged to them; they were familiar with every stone…".[102]

The air raids on Vienna continued throughout March and the city was without water for a couple of weeks. Thus the life in the city was becoming more difficult.

If before March 1945 Missie had not been willing to escape from Vienna for fear of the Soviet army, by the end of the month all travel for personal reasons was banned and she would not be able to leave, even if she changed her mind. The influential friends of hers were trying to provide Missie with some documents, but all their efforts were not enough. Moreover as a nurse she was not allowed to leave the hospital and would have needed a special permit to leave the hospital, which would have been difficult to get. Missie tried to talk to the head doctor of the hospital explaining to him that "… as a

[101] Vassiltchikov, Marie: The Berlin Diaries, 1940 – 1945. (London 1999), p. 256.
[102] Ibid., p. 260.

White Russian, it would be unhealthy if the Red Army finds me here"[103]. The doctor in his turn "…screamed that I had better not spread panicky rumours…".[104] Missie decided never to raise the issue again, but to take off any way she could when the time came. Nevertheless the official evacuation started as the Soviet troops crossed the German border. Missie and her fellow nurse, a friend Sita Werde, were allowed to leave on their own, but were asked to return to the hospital again once it had been relocated to the Tirol region; the date for this was April 10. However April 13, 1945 was the official end of the Red Army operation (Wiener Angriffsoperation) and the Soviet troops entered the Austrian capital.[105]

To some extent life in Vienna remained the same during the war years as it had been before the war started. Russians in the city continued doing their jobs and living in their flats, and were integrated into Austrian society. The proof could be found in Princess Vassiltchikov's diary: "Until now most of these people had spent the war years as in 'the good old days': living on their huge estates; free from hardship or privation, let alone danger; in a country where the shops were until lately still bursting with goods… and now, virtually overnight, their whole world has collapsed and the Russians have overrun their homes, sweeping everything before them. As their armies advance, the nationality of refugees changes apace – the latest wave is from the Bratislava area in Slovakia, just across the Danube".[106]

World War II and its aftermath basically reversed the life of Russian emigrants throughout Europe to the state it was in 1917. Emigrants were forced to move again and leave their places of settlement as their lives were threatened by the advancing Soviet army. Leaving again meant starting all over again, i.e. looking for new jobs, finding new

[103] Vassiltchikov, Marie: The Berlin Diaries, 1940 – 1945. (London 1999), p. 243.
[104] Ibid., p. 256.
[105] Leidinger, Hannes; Moritz, Verana: Russisches Wien. Begegnungen aus vier Jahrhunderten. [Russian Vienna. Encounters from four centuries] (Vienna 2004), p. 179.
[106] Vassiltchikov, Marie: The Berlin Diaries, 1940 – 1945 (London 1999), p. 269.

places to live and trying to integrate into new societies. All this was even more difficult in 1945 than it had been back in the 1920s as the legal status of the Russian refugees was very uncertain.

Missie Vassiltchikov escaped from Vienna on the last train that was to leave the city before the invasion of the Soviet forces. After the war she married a captain of the U.S. army, Peter Harnden in Austria in 1946. The couple had four children and lived in France and Spain. After Peter's death in 1971 Missie moved to London, where she died from cancer in 1978.

Concluding this part of the chapter I would like to explain once again why the story of Missie Vassiltchikov was chosen for discussion within this paper. The fact that Missie did not spend that much time (from January to April 1945) in Vienna during WWII might raise a question about the relevance of her experience for the discourse. The choice was motivated by the number of reasons. Firstly, unfortunately the history of Russian emigration to Vienna after 1917 Revolution till 1945 remains an unexplored field. It is a challenging task to gather information on life stories of the emigrants due to the lack of the remaining sources. However in my view the first hand information, primary sources like memoirs, gives a better understanding of the situation. One can go through a significant amount of general literature on history, but only analysis of primary sources can provide a full picture. Secondly, when reading 'The Berlin Diaries 1940 - 1945' for the first time, I was fascinated by frankness with which Missie described her everyday life in Vienna. The tiny details mentioned by Missie in the memoirs might seem not important at the first glance, but after analyzing this information, I came to some unexpected observations, which are discussed above. With these reasons in mind the findings gathered from 'The Berlin Diaries 1940 - 1945' were presented in this chapter. To draw the line I would like to recommend this primary source for the Russian emigration researches in general. The memoirs contain valuable information on the

topic, and thus might provide more insight on the Russian emigration phenomenon not only in Vienna, but also undoubtedly in Berlin.

Starting the second part of this chapter it would be interesting to plot how the attitude of the Soviet Union towards Russian refugees abroad changed from the start of the war and throughout the war its years.

In 1939 a new period started in Soviet foreign policy. The transition was followed by the expansion of the Union, the reacquisition of former Russian territories and the acquisition of new ones. The recovery of former Russian subjects within both new independent states nationalities in the Baltic states and Poland and those who remained stateless and resided in the countries bordering on the USSR. For instance, in Lithuania alone there were about 8.000 Russian refugees living in the country. In 1940 9.000 Russians residing in Lithuania, parts of which were annexed by Germany at the time of the incorporation of the Baltic states into the USSR, were transferred to the Soviet Union according to the Soviet-German agreement on exchange of population.[107] This is an example of how the Soviet Union made former citizens of the Russian Empire into Soviet nationals.

After the war end the Soviet government used other techniques to make Russian emigrants abroad apply for Soviet citizenship. In Yugoslavia at the end of the war there remained 8.000 former Russian citizens, some of whom were stateless and some of whom had obtained Yugoslav nationality under the Monarchy. The law of July 1, 1946, deprived the latter of their new nationality and, encouraged by the attitude of the Belgrade government, many former Russians took up Soviet citizenship.[108] A similar situation took place in France and many other European states.

[107] Ginsburgs, George: The Soviet Union and the Problem of Refugees and Displaced Persons 1917-1956, in The American Journal of International Law (Vol. 51, No. 2) 1957, p. 345.
[108] Ibid., p. 346.

The surprising fact is that actually so many Russian emigrants chose to claim Soviet citizenship. This could be explained by the triumphant feeling that some emigrants shared with the Soviets on their victory in the war. Of course there were people that still had a negative attitude towards the Soviet Union and with the Soviet victory lost their hope of reviving the imperial regime. Nevertheless there were a significant number who changed their opinion about the Soviet government and were able to view the Soviet Russia as a strong Russia. This was an important feeling for some of the émigrés: and these people applied for Soviet citizenship and gave up their Nansen passports (see Chapter II).

The experiences of Russian immigrants in Vienna during the Second World War years cannot be regarded in isolation from Austrian history as its course gives answers to many questions. Prior to World War II from 1934 to 1938, during the Austrofascism period, the Russian emigrants, who did not express their ideas opposing the regime, were able to keep their jobs and conduct their lives as normal and in this sense Russian immigrants were no exception. When Austria was part of Nazi Germany it automatically became an enemy of the Soviet Union, and the Russians living in Vienna and across Austria were not affected by this political change. Moreover as the Soviet Union was an opponent to Germany, Russian emigrants as opponents of the Soviet system could conduct their lives as normal. However with the Soviet triumph ideology yet again played a defining role and the 'white' Russian background became an obstacle to conducting a normal life. At this time many Russians in Vienna decided to leave Austria for a new life in the United States of America and for all these people the period of life spent in Vienna was over.

Conclusion

The study of Russian emigration to Vienna following the 1917 October Revolution until the end of WWII in 1945 offers an insight into the lives of Russian refugees living in Vienna during this period. To what extent did Russian emigrants establish a community within Vienna during their exodus between 1917 and 1945? What, if any, legacy did they have? In order to answer these questions, a summary of the outcomes of each chapter of this thesis is first provided to gather all the pieces of the picture.

The observation of global migration processes in the first part of the 20th century allows establishing the position of Russian emigration to Vienna within the context of other migrations happening in the world in the indicated time period. Consequently, it is possible to say that the inflow of Russian citizens to Vienna was part of the larger migration movement of Russians after the 1917 October Revolution to Europe. This movement of people is in its turn a constituent element of global migration processes happening in the world in the first part of the 20th century. Thus Russian emigration to Vienna is generally subjected to the same features and trends as the emigration to other European cities.

The phenomenon of Russian emigrants and their movement lies within the framework of the relatively recent concept of periodization of global migration within Global Studies. The magnitude of the migration processes after the Revolution, as well as the scope of Russian emigration, supports the argument that global migration grew during the 1920s and continued following the First World War. Approximating two million people, the Russian emigration wave, whilst not the most numerous in the world, contributes significantly to the study of migration in Europe.

What was the impact of Russian emigration to Europe in relation to global migration processes? As discussed in Chapter II, Russian emigration was subjected to various political changes and turbulence including WWI and other events, including famine and worsening living conditions within the country of origin. Despite this the main push factor that made people leave was the 1917 October Revolution and its aftermath.

Once Russian emigrants resettled in Europe, they reconstituted institutions that were common for their former home country. In comparison to other migrant groups, however, these Russians largely did not reestablish connections to the country of their origin directly, while living abroad. This was a distinguishing feature between Russian emigrants and other migrants (for example, Chinese migrants), who tended to have close ties with their homeland. Nevertheless, the absence of the direct connections of emigrants and the Soviet Union is fully understandable, as this was no longer the country that these people came from. Their Russia, the country that they knew and loved, ceased to exist in 1917.

Russian emigrants' flows were not subjected to immigration regulations and legislation *per se*. Yet the legislative aspect of migrants' existence, the situation of Russian emigrants in Europe in 1917 as without valid passports and stateless, provoked an international community response to this predicament. These Russian emigrants accounted for the creation of refugee institutions on an international level. In fact, these mechanisms that were established to deal with the Russian emigrants' problem still exist today.

In other respects, Russian emigrants in Europe, and in Vienna in particular, were influenced by other political, economic, and social events in the world from 1917 to 1945. The Great Depression and the following world economic crisis and its enormous impact on the everyday lives of the emigrants provide one such example.

Unlike many of the other waves of migration occurrence in other world regions simultaneously, Russian emigration to Europe was not by definition a typical forced

migration, but fits into this criteria nevertheless. The migrants were not forced to leave directly or sent into exile by the government, but rather took this decision by themselves. However, it could not be regarded as an independent decision, as the emigration was caused by a particular situation and therefore it is consisted with a forced migration. Within this thesis the notion of an indirect forced migration is suggested. This point, however, can be argued.

The Russian emigration to Vienna was largely subjected to the same features that were common to Russian emigration to Europe as a whole. This thesis therefore provides a commentary regarding specific to Russian emigration to Vienna from 1917 to 1945. The results of these observations are discussed below.

The life story of Prince Nikolai Trubetzkoy provides a valuable insight into the situation of Russian emigrants in Vienna, after the Revolution and also shows the way Vienna with all the possibilities and difficulties, influenced the emigrants.

Firstly, as Vienna had already been a popular destination for Russians before the 1917 October Revolution, many of the post-revolutionary migrants came to the city because they had some relatives and friends in Austria. This was the case for Prince Trubetzkoy in particular, as his uncle had already been living in Austria and as it discussed in Chapter IV, was of great help to the Prince establishing his life in a new country.

Secondly, Vienna attracted the Russians due to its relatively low cost of living. Whilst data on the estimated cost of living in different European capitals in order to make a comparison between Vienna and other emigration centers was unobtainable. Inflation levels, which were lower in Austria than on other countries at the time, provide some insight. Moreover, Prince Trubetzkoy highlighted in his private letters that, in comparison to other places, where migrants went, Vienna was more affordable; a sentiment likely stored by many emigrants.

Thirdly, the surrounding area of Vienna, Baden for example, was famous for its resorts and medical centers and this factor encouraged those emigrants who had health problems to move Austria. Vienna itself hosted doctors with enormous experience and that was what the Russian emigrants with health problems, caused by the Revolution and its aftermath, were in need of. Prince Trubetzkoy was a frequent visitor to Austrian medical resorts, as like many of his compatriots, he had a troubled health condition.

Speaking of Prince Trubetzkoy and what the experience in Vienna meant to his life in particular, one can make another observation besides the factors described above. Trubetzkoy came to Vienna in the first instance because he was able to find a job. The labor market in the 1920s and 1930s was highly competitive and it was difficult to find employment, especially for someone with a migrant background. The luck that Trubetzkoy had was not characteristic of the Russian emigrant experience. Indeed, it was not easy for emigrants to get a job in Vienna. This is why the emigration for labor reasons was distinctive in the case of Trubetzkoy, but one cannot conclude that this was a motivation for other migrants to move to Vienna.

Religion and the St. Nicholas Orthodox Cathedral in Vienna can serve as a binding link between the emigrants of the first wave and the emigrants, who came to Vienna later and lived here during the Second World War. The Russian Orthodox Church Abroad supported all those living in exile and religion became an important part of the emigrants' lives.

The Russian Orthodox Church, prior to the Revolution in Russia, played an important role in society and it was not separated from politics. The Church sounded its voice on the most significant social events of the day and was closely connected with the monarchy and the Romanov family. The Russian Orthodox Church also had a lot of influence on an international level, as the center of the Orthodox world was in Russia. After the Revolution all this influence decreased.

The Russian Orthodox Church Abroad did not play the leading role in the anti-revolutionary movements of the emigrants. At least in Vienna its main function was to give the emigrants countenance. Despite all the endurance the church was able to maintain its position during the interwar period and managed to provide the Russian emigrants with spiritual comfort especially during the final WWII years.

WWII was a turning point in the lives of Russians in Vienna. If, before the beginning of the conflict, Russian emigrants felt safe in Austria and could conduct a normal life, when the war started and the Soviet Army started performing successfully, 'white' refugees were anxious regarding their future. Some Russians came to Vienna from Berlin, where life conditions were very difficult, in a hope to wait out the change in the course of the war. However, as the Soviet Army proceeded, many 'white' Russians started leaving Vienna. Thus, during WWII Vienna acted in part as a transit point for many Russians, but only few of them actually stayed in the city. In some regards WWII represented the end of the Russia Abroad era, as after this time the Russian emigration community in Europe and in Vienna was decentralized and its institutional system was not rebuilt.

The main questions about the existence of Russia Abroad in Vienna from 1917 to 1945, however, remain. Were the Russians in Vienna specifically impacted on by the fact that they lived in Vienna, as opposed to another city, and did they leave a mark on Vienna, as they did in Berlin or Paris?

Without a doubt, Vienna was a peculiar city for Russian emigrants, who arrived here after the 1917 October Revolution. Emigrants had personal reasons for coming to Vienna, though the motivation, to escape from communist Russia, was the same. Vienna had its advantages and disadvantages in comparison to other European capitals. The already mentioned affordability of life, which attracted the compatriots of Prince Trubetzkoy for instance, in contrast to difficulty to find a job, for example.

During the whole Russian emigration increase in Vienna, which started in the 1920s, the emigrants failed to establish the centralized system within the diaspora to preserve their culture and the cultural heritage of Russia Abroad. In this sense Vienna lost to such cities like Paris, Berlin, and Constantinople, where it was possible to find the recreation of the Russian lifestyle with numerous Russian schools, publishing houses, newspapers, etc. There was never something like that in Vienna.

Nevertheless the study of Russian emigration to Vienna deserves detailed observation and study. Despite the failure of the establishment of the centralized diaspora, Vienna, hosted many Russian refugees from 1917 to 1945. Some people left after the Soviet victory in WWII, few people stayed and their children still live in the city nowadays.

Did Russian refugees who lived in Vienna from 1917 to 1945 make an impact on Vienna as a city? Undoubtedly Vienna was not influenced by Russian refugees in the interwar period in the 20th century to the same extent as Berlin and Paris were. Neither was there cultural scene dominated by Russians like in Paris, nor whole districts inhabited by 'white' Russians, exclusively. However, the research on Russian emigrants in Vienna revealed that in some areas Russians were quite successful. The case study of Prince Trubetzkoy and his academic success at the University of Vienna illustrates this supposition.

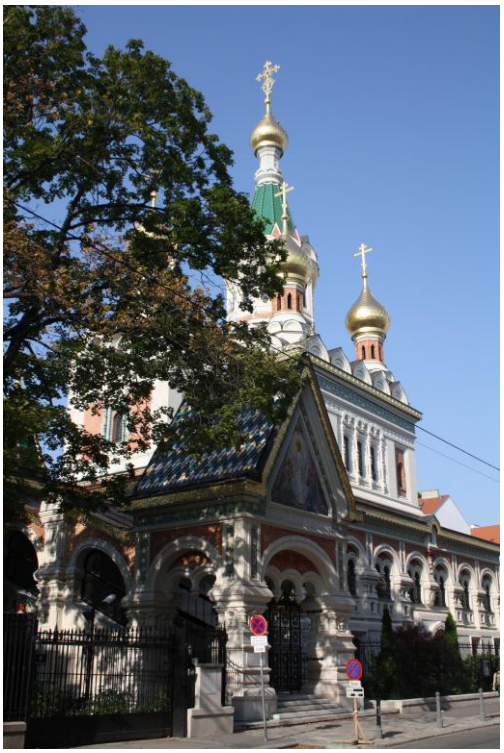
The present thesis on Russian emigration to Vienna focused on providing a more-detailed picture of the lives of the Russians in Vienna from 1917 to 1945 than is conventionally known. It would be interesting to conduct further research on some other sides of emigrants' lives in Vienna. Nevertheless the present research provides an insight into the Russian emigration to Vienna following the 1917 October Revolution.

Appendix

Dorotheergasse 12 – the first address of Prince Nikolai Trubetzkoy in Vienna.

Memorial plate on Tuchlauben 13, where Prince Nikolai Trubetzkoy lived from 1934 to 1938.

Memorial plate in the honor of Prince Nikolai Trubetzkoy in the courtyard of the University of Vienna.



The Russian Orthodox Cathedral of St. Nicholas in Vienna, Jauresgasse.

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